THE Mennonite Quarterly Review

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VOLUME XIII OCTOBER, 1939 NUMBER FOUR

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EDITORIAL

Literary forces have seldom played an important role in the history of the Anabaptist-Mennonite movement. In the early decades, in fact for more than a century, intolerant governmental and ecclesiastical authorities, both Protestant and Catholic, were determined to throttle the movement with every means at their command, and denied it every access to the press. A few courageous printers, themselves sympathetic with the movement, or even adherents of it, succeeded in publishing a few tracts and small booklets here and there. Only in Moravia, where Hubmaier found temporary tolerance in 1526 and 1527, was there any semblance of a free press for Anabaptists. However, nothing of permanent significance and influence was published by the Swiss Brethren. Only in Holland and North Germany was literature published which was of a character significant enough to make a permanent contribution. In this latter category fall the writings of Menno Simons and Dirk Philips, the two leading elders of the Dutch-North German Anabaptist movement. The outstanding production of this entire early period, and the one which has probably had more influence in the history of the Mennonite movement than any other one book, was the "Foundation Book" of Menno Simons, published in 1539-40. The Review is happy to publish a quadricentennial tribute to this work by Dr. Cornelius Krahn, author of the latest biography of Menno Simons published in 1936.

In the little-worked field of Amish History Professor Umble presents a valuable and interesting study of "Amish Ordination Charges." Using original documents formerly the property of Amish bishops two generations ago, which are without doubt authentic copies of the most ancient forms, he presents the original German text, together with translations, of the ordination charges traditionally used in the installation of bishops, ministers and deacons in the Amish church. Documents such as these are valuable not only for the authoritative information they give concerning the organization, government, and discipline of this most conservative group, but also for the light they shed on the religious and social attitudes which have contributed so much to the strength and tenacity of its convictions and the maintenance of its way of life.

The second half of J. Boyd Cressman's "History of the first Mennonite Church of Kitchener, Ontario," which is printed in this issue, concludes the story of this influential pioneer Canadian Mennonite congregation. Among other things worthy of note is the significant role played by the noted pioneer Mennonite evangelist, J. S. Coffman, in the stimulation of the spiritual life and activity of the congregation of the last fifty years.

The valuable annual study of enrollment in Mennonite schools and colleges which has been prepared by Professor Hertzler for many years, is again presented in its 1939 edition with the usual comprehensive statistical tables.

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VOLUME XIII NUMBER 4

MENNO SIMONS' FUNDAMENT-BOEK OF 1539-1540

CORNELIUS KRAHN

Soon after his withdrawal from the Catholic Church in 1536, Menno Simons became the outstanding leader of the Anabaptists in the Netherlands and North and East Germany, a position which he held for more than twenty years. His influence over his fellow believers, who were widely scattered throughout the whole territory from Brussels to Danzig and who were suffering severe persecution, was exercised through two means, preaching and writing. It would be interesting to examine Menno's activity as itinerant evangelist, pastor and bishop, which led him on many dangerous journeys, but my essay will be devoted to a study of the origin and influence of his literary productions, with particular reference to that one of his writings which, in the four centuries which have elapsed since its conception, has proved to be the most significant and most influential of all, namely, the *Fundament-Boek* or *Foundation Book*.

Up to the time of the invention of printing, and in general up to the time of the Reformation, books were the possession of scholars only. To the unlearned man, a book was more or less of a marvel whose secrets could be discovered only with the help of the scholar. But during the time of the Reformation this gradually changed. Books became the property of the unlearned as well as of

the scholar and men learned how to read books without aid. Soon the common man was not only reading books but writing them himself, and through the new art of printing it became possible for any one to influence hundreds and thousands of his fellow men by putting his thoughts into a book. Shortly after the Reformation got under way, for instance, evangelical writings[1] made their way into the Catholic rectory in Witmarsum at Friesland, which was occupied at that time by a young and unconcerned priest by the name of Menno Simons. It was chiefly as a result of the influence of these evangelical writings that Menno finally broke with the church altogether, and gradually he himself began to write, taking advantage of the new art of printing to spread his doctrines.

Menno's Writings Before the Fundament-Boek

Even before his withdrawal from the church Menno had written a vigorous attack against the errors of Jan van Leiden, and thereby had committed himself to the position of the peaceful "Bundgenossen" or Anabaptists. Before he could have this tract published, the kingdom of Münster and its king came to a horrible end. But Menno was not a man who could quiet his conscience with a testimony stored away in the drawers of his desk. He soon publicly renounced the Catholic church and thereby committed himself to a phase of the Reformation movement which just then was passing through a severe inner and outer crisis. The persecution of the Dutch Anabaptists made a sound and normal development of the movement almost impossible, and certain sectors of the movement, under the influence of radical leaders, became possessed of a spirit which not seldom led to catastrophes such as those of Münster, Bolsward, and Amsterdam. However there was always a sound core which resisted these influences successfully. It was Menno's historic mission, by his courageous joining with this movement, to rescue it from the destruction which threatened it. He gathered the scattered members of the group, strengthened the weak and wavering ones, and established them all firmly on a common Biblical basis, the same basis which had characterized the peaceful Anabaptists from the very time of their origin in Switzerland in 1525. As

1. A list of the writings known and used by Menno Simons may be found in the author's monograph, *Menno Simons, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Theologie der Taufgesinnten*, Karlsruhe (Baden), 1936, pp. 39 ff.

was indicated above this was accomplished primarily through Menno's writings. Unfortunately since his tract against Jan van Leiden and the Münsterite errors was not published for more than a hundred years after it was written, it made no contribution to this influence. It was the writings which he composed in the first few years after his renunciation in the Catholic Church and which he composed "in quiet withdrawal as he studied the Word of the Lord," which accomplished this. Through these writings he reached a large number of his distressed fellow believers at a decisive time, and established them through his plain and simple words of faith and comfort. Through these writings he soon acquired great prestige as a bishop of his people, while at the same time his reputation with the government as the leader of this "accursed sect" brought him into constant danger of his life. It was not without reason that the printers and readers of his writings were persecuted in the severest possible manner.

The great significance of Menno's writings, it must be emphasized at the outset, is due to the fact that they became the guiding influence for his fellow believers in the crucial period of their history. The writings of Dirk Phillips are not less valuable in content than the writings of Menno Simons, but they were produced in a much later period, after the crisis was past.

One of the first writings of Menno Simons is the one entitled *Van de Geestelijke Verrijsenisse.*[2] No theme was more precious to Menno at this time. He had just come out of the darkness into the wonderful light of his new faith. The experience of regeneration was vivid in his heart. It is this experience which he describes under the title of "The Spiritual Resurrection." In it he demands of Christians a moral regeneration instead of the superficial observation of the ceremonies of the church. Instead of conforming to the world, the Christian is to be conformed to Christ and to follow in His steps. It might be noticed in passing that this early writing already contains the germ of his peculiar teaching on the incarnation of Christ which he apparently took over from Melchior Hofmann.

Another early writing of Menno's, entitled *De nieuwe Creatuere,*[3] treats of the same theme as "The Spiritual Resurrection."

2. *Concerning the Spiritual Resurrection.*
3. *The New Birth.*

He wishes to completely destroy the magic and superstitious spell of the sacramental forms of the Catholic Church by demonstrating that there is only one way to salvation, namely the experience of regeneration in the heart of man through a living Christ. To indicate his position toward the happenings in Münster, he also expresses himself in regard to the sword, polygamy, and the ban.

Another writing entitled, *Voele goede vnd Chrystelycke leringhen op den 25. Psalm in een maniere van bidden gescreuen,*[4] has a strong personal character much like his tract entitled "Withdrawal from Papacy." It treats of his former careless life and his conversion, and is cast in the form of a prayer.

These three tracts were written and published during the years 1536 to 1538. However, they contain no indication of the time and place of composition or of printing, since Menno in this period was almost constantly in flight. According to tradition he is supposed to have spent some time in Groningen during this period.

The strongly personal character of these three first writings is very noticeable in comparison with those which were written after this time. They were produced under the influence of joy, enthusiasm, and urge for testimony, which was the result of his powerful conversion experience. Menno writes as one who has just been saved, and who is deeply concerned for the salvation of his fellow men. It should also be remembered that the later books were written after his prestige and authority had been thoroughly established by his ordination as bishop, his successful activity as a preacher, and especially by the effect of his early writings. This sense of authority and power brought a new note into his next writing, particularly the *Fundament-Boek.*[5]

The Fundament-Boek—Occasion and Contents

As has already been indicated above, in the Foundation Book Menno appears as the recognized and responsible bishop and teacher of his congregations. This is evident from two emphases in the book. He writes not only as an evangelist who wishes to save and edify believers by seeking the salvation of the individual soul and

4. *Many Good and Christian Teachings from the 25th Psalm Written in the Form of a Prayer.*

5. *Dat Fundament des Christelycken leers op dat alder corste geschreven.* Anno M.D. XXXIX. (without place of publication). Menno himself later calls this book "Mijn Fondament—boeksken" (*Opera Omnia,* 1681, p. 235a).

telling of his own experiences, but also as a bishop writing a handbook for the building of the church. He treats systematically of such themes as repentance, faith, baptism, Lord's supper, duty of the preacher, and attitude toward the "sects." And, as bishop of the churches he deals with the believers not only as separate individuals, but also as members of the Church of Christ. The churches are to be conformed to the pattern of the apostolic church which he pictures for them. It is clear that the primary purpose of the *Fundament-Boek,* in Menno's mind, was to serve as a handbook for his fellow believers in matters of faith and practice in the church.

There was also a second purpose for the book, namely, that the fundamental principles of the Anabaptists should be so set forth in this handbook that the governmental authorities and learned theologians of the time would be able to test their validity by means of the Holy Scripture and should therefore be able to see the Scriptural character of the same. Menno hoped that thereby persecution would be brought to an end and toleration would be granted to his congregations (Aiij[1]). This purpose is indicated both in the preface which he addresses to "the government, together with all men," and also in the conclusion which he calls "an admonitory and reproving conclusion."

To accomplish this purpose, however, it was not sufficient that Menno should set forth the Scriptural character of the principles of the Anabaptists. It was unavoidable that he should take a position with regard to a serious accusation which was still stirring the spirits of all. This accusation was the alleged relation between his churches and the revolutionists in Münster who had been suppressed some years before. The refutation of this charge was a difficult task. Menno himself had always vigorously rejected a violent defense by force by those that were being persecuted, also rejecting polygamy and all similar doctrines of the Münsterites, and his tract against Jan van Leiden is an unequivocal testimony to his position on this point. However, this cannot be said of all of the Melchiorite and related groups before the collapse of the Münster kingdom, at least in regard to the use of force in self-defense. His own brother lost his life in a defensive operation using force.

Menno was concerned first of all to show that there was no connec-

In defending the Anabaptists against the above mentioned charge,

tion between his congregations and the Münsterites, while at the same time he was interested in admonishing those who had been tainted with the Münsterite errors to repent and return to the true faith. He says in this connection, "Seek again your only and true shepherd, Christ Jesus, whom ye have lost" ["soeket wederōme uwen enighen vñ rechten herder Christum Jesum die ghi verloren hebbē . . . (R VII[2])]." He even goes farther and says, "I doubt not that our dear brethren[6] who have transgressed a little against the Lord in that they wanted to defend their faith with the sword, have a gracious God . . . although they formerly erred a little," ["Ick en twiuel daer niet aen ofte onse lieuen broeders de en weinich tegen den Here voormaels mishandelt hebben/vermits sy met geweer wolden hoeren geloue beschermen/ofte die hebben een genadigen God/ . . . hoewel sy nochtās in weinich gedoelt hebben . . . (R VII[1]).] This honest and generous love toward "erring brethren," whom he addressed as "dear brethren," undermined, at least in the minds of Menno's opponents, the arguments by which he sought to prove that his group had had nothing to do with the Münsterites. For Catholics and state church reformers his rather tolerant treatment of the adherents of one of the Münsterite errors seemed to be a proof that he himself was in league with them.

Of the two purposes for writing the *Foundation Book,* Menno did accomplish the first, namely, the consolidation of the scattered, peaceful Anabaptists on a common basis. However, his second purpose was not achieved, since no public tolerance of these churches was accomplished by these writings. On the contrary the generous attitude toward the Münsterites or Old-Cloisterites as noted above, led to a further attack on the peaceful Anabaptists by his enemies. This attack, of course, was not without influence or effect on the further fate and form of the Foundation Book.

Changes in the Fundament-Boek

When the second edition of the *Foundation Book* was published about 1554, probably in Lübeck as the product of an Anabaptist printing shop,[7] Menno Simons undertook a revision of its content.

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6. Menno refers here not to the Münsterites, but to the Old Cloisterites of Bolsward.

7. Krahn, *op. cit.,* pp. 84 ff.

He describes this revision as "wederumme mit grooter vlyte auerghelesen vnde ghebetert." At the time of the revision Menno was living in the territory of the Hansa cities, and consequently had to adjust the language of the book to that of his environment, namely the "Oostersch" dialect of the Baltic coastal region. But Menno undertook more than linguistic revision. Experience had shown that his optimism in the first edition, that he would succeed in securing tolerance for the Anabaptists from the government by his writings, was unjustified. It is significant, however, that his statements concerning the Münsterites are much more severe in the new edition. In these statements much is omitted or modified over the first form. The reason for this revision is not hard to understand. Certainly it would be unjust to say that it was only due to a recoil from the attacks of his enemies which were based upon the generous statements in the first edition. It must be attributed to the fact that the events at Münster had long since passed into history and there were no more any "erring brethren" to be admonished and encouraged to return to the true faith. Therefore the sections containing these admonitions in the earlier edition could readily be omitted. Menno does, however, state in this connection that this writing "was originally produced at a time when the Münsterite errors were still current among some." But Menno also wanted to prove that the peaceful Anabaptists had nothing in common with the Münsterites, either in historical origin or in fundamental principles. It is clear that he was deeply concerned about this point. Can we say that his claim was justified? Probably just as much or as little as the charge of his opponents that there was no difference at all between the Münsterites and the Mennonites.

The 1558 revised Dutch edition of the *Foundation Book,*[8] which is the form in which the book was published in all later editions, contains the following statements of explanation in Menno's foreword, "To the Reader": "In some places I made additions, explained the obscure parts, corrected those that were defective, and omitted redundancies; the style and language I improved at places, in order to be better suited to aid the kind reader, and to make known and acceptable to many the despised truth; not my reader, that I changed the original document and content, by no means; I have

8. *Een Fundament ende clare aenwijsinge vande salichmakende leere Jesu Christi* . . . . 1583.

not changed, but as appears to me, improved its form to give it more force and distinction. Those who fear God may judge."

While it is true that there is a very clear fundamental difference between the peaceful Anabaptists and those who were led astray by radical doctrine, yet it is also true that Menno and his followers were too inclined to overlook or even deny that which was common in the origin of the two groups and also in the principles. This was due in part to persecution and the need for distinguishing clearly between the peaceful and the radical Anabaptists, and also in part to the fundamentally different development of the peaceful and revolutionary groups in subsequent history. In the final analysis, the Biblical and peaceful Anabaptist movement is to be blamed about as little or as much for the excesses of the Münsterites as Luther is to be blamed for the peasants' revolt. If the water of a stream is defiled by the dirty water of a tributary, the source of the main stream is not to be blamed for the defilement. In this sense Menno's denial of a connection between the two movements is justified. However, we cannot deny that there was a time in history when the two streams were not altogether sharply distinguished from one another, even though the purification of the main stream was largely due to Menno Simons himself.

A New Edition of the 1539 Fundament-Boek in 1616

As soon as the *Foundation Book* was published the first time, Menno's opponents at once seized upon the passages in which he attempted to reach the "erring brethren." With these passages they felt sure that they had evidence from a primary source of the close connection between the peaceful Anabaptists and the revolutionary elements. Again and again the critical passages were reprinted. As indicated earlier this was certainly one of the reasons why Menno eliminated these passages from the second edition. The differences between the second and the first editions seemed to the Reformed Synod of Friesland so significant for the fight against the Mennonites that several annual synods between 1588 and 1611 seriously considered a plan to publish a new edition of the original unrevised Foundation Book. Repeatedly certain men were appointed to compare the text of the various editions and prepare for publication an authoritative original text, together with a commentary setting forth the revisions and apparent contradictions in the later

edition. If the plan had been executed, a relatively "scientific" edition of the Foundation Book would have been published at that early date. However, nothing came of the plan. The synod decided in 1611 that there was no value in publishing a new edition of the old 1539 *Foundation Book* of Menno Simons and that the previous resolutions on this matter should be ignored.[9]

Nevertheless in 1616 a new edition of the *Foundation Book* did appear under the following title: *Dat Fundament der Christlycken leere. Door Menno Simons op dat alder coreckste geschreven/ende uitgheghеven/ Anno 1539. Ende nu nae het alder outste exemplaer wederom herdruckt/ Anno 1616.* The revisions of the original in this new edition are limited in the main to orthographical changes. For this reason the change in the title from the original "Alder Corste" to "Alder Coreckste" does not seem to be accidental. At any rate this edition did not correspond to the plans and purposes of the Friesian Synod, and probably was published by an adherent of Menno rather than an opponent.[10]

Extant Copies of the Fundament-Boek of 1539-40

Until recently only four copies of the *Foundation Book* of 1539-40 were known to have been preserved. Two of these are in the possession of the Mennonite Library in Amsterdam. One of these copies is not perfect. One copy is in the University Library at Amsterdam, and another in the Royal Library in the Hague. Recently I succeeded in finding two other copies. One of these is in the British Museum in London and the other in the Municipal Library in Hamburg. Of the 1616 reprint of the original 1539 edition, one copy is known to be extant in each of the following libraries: Mennonite Library in Amsterdam, Private Library of C. P. Van Eeghen, Jr. in Amsterdam, University Library in Leiden, Rochester Theological Seminary Library in Rochester, New York, Union Theological Seminary in New York City, Private Library of John Horsch, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, and one copy formerly in the possession of the Honorable S. W. Pennypacker of Schwenksville, Pennsylvania.

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9. Reitsma en van Heen, *Acta Part. Synoden, Friesland,* VI, pp. 34, 165, 194, 201. Also *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen,* 1911, pp. 44-45, and K. Vos, *Menno Simons,* 1914, pp. 272-273.

10. Earlier, in my monograph on Menno Simons, p. 54, I was of another opinion.

Conclusion

When Menno wrote his *Foundation Book* four hundred years ago and circulated it among the churches of the brotherhood, without doubt he meant it to be a standard in matters of faith. There is also no doubt that through the centuries since that time, this book has had more influence in the history of Mennonitism than any other single volume except possibly the *Martyr's Mirror.* This is true not only of the Mennonites in Holland and North Germany but also of the Mennonites in South Germany, in Switzerland, and in America and Russia. Repeated translations and reprints are a vivid testimony to the influence and power of this book.

The second original purpose in writing this book was not accomplished, at least not to the extent that the first purpose was accomplished, for it apparently had little effect in modifying the harsh lot of the churches under persecution. Many years passed before tolerance and freedom of conscience was granted to them. However, who would dare to say that this book had no influence at all in this direction. Even before Menno Simons' death he and his followers found in Fresenburg in the neighborhood of Hamburg and Lübeck, a place of security and refuge.

Many writings of Anabaptist leaders of the sixteenth century have already been published in scientific editions for the use of scholars and the general public. However, to date this has not been done either for the *Foundation Book* or for any of the other of Menno Simons' writings. The Dutch Mennonite historian, Dr. S. Cramer, planned to publish a scientific edition, and later another Dutch Mennonite historian, K. Vos, had similar plans. However, neither of these scholars was able to carry through his plan. May the time be not too far distant when this debt of honor and respect to Menno Simons and our history will be paid.

APPENDIX

The following passage from the original 1539 edition of the *Fundament-Boek* is reproduced from a photostatic copy in the Mennonite Historical Library, Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania. The extract is taken from folio R VI^2 to folio R VII^2. The same passage is reprinted in K. Vos, *Menno Simons,* Leiden, 1914, pp. 273-275.

fol. R 6. Wermits dan dat uwe oren iocken nae den loegen, unde dat ghi die rechte slechte leringhe Jesu Christi niet en achten, syne gebenedide mont vorstoppen, unde willen niet hoeren de ghene die u in die rechte weiden Israël leiden ende stueren willen, derhalven heeft u God geslagen mit eenen dolle blinde geest, dat ghi dwalen van den eenen quade leringhe tot den ander van den eenen valsche Propheet tot den ander, unde vorlaten so deerlycken den vasten onbewegelycke gront die nemmermeer wycken nochte wancken mach welcke is Christus Jesus, hoewel die barmhertige God die alle wegen voorstaet gelyk eenen Vader sine Kynderen doet, u soo Vaderlyck niet allene met sinen gebenedide woort, dan ook mit seenlycke waerschouwinghe so vaken vermaent heeft, Want sy doch alle met en anderen die wat neuwes geleert unde gepropheteert hebben contrari den leringhe Christi valsch unde loegenaers in hoeren leringe unde Prophetien bevonden syn.

Ich en twivel daer niet aen ofte onse lieven Broeders de en weinick tegen den Here voormaels mishandelt hebben, vermits sy met geweer wolden hoeren gelove beschermen, ofte die hebben een genadigen God, want sy hebben hoop ik met deze voorgemelde ketterien niet besmet weest, sochten oock niet dan Christum Jesum unde dat ewighe leven, unde daer voor hebben sie opgeset huis, hof, lant, zant, vader, moeder, wyf, kynt, unde oock hoer eigen zelves leven, hoewel zy nochtans in weinich gedolt hebben het welcke ons niet en behoert om tho volgen, gelyck wi boven gesecht hebben, naemplycken als dat sy enighe wapens gebruycket hebben anders dan lydsaemheit unde Godes woort, het is oock gheen wonder dat sy in die tyt gesnoevelt hebben vermits sy in die tyden die beprovinghe der geesten noch niet en hadden, Die oprechte unde vromen heet ick mine susters unde broeders vermits sy onwetende gesnoevelt hebben, Men den dobbelthartige die God niet gesocht en hebben mit puerder reynder herten, hoewel sy Susters unde Broeders genoemt waren unde die Princen der vervoeringhe als bennen Munster unde Amsterdam die laet ick in des Heeren hant die weet wat oordeel dat sie weert syn, die wort se rechten na syn gebenediede wille. Hieromme vermaen ik u mit dese mine waerschouwinghe uth Godes woort dat ghi doch van alsulke willen afkeren op dat ghi oock mit hoeren haestighe voordervinghe beid in uwen lichamen unde sielen niet overvallen worden.

2°. Minen uthvercorene broeders, men niet in Christo Jesu, want dat syn broeders in Christo Jesu die daer bliven in sinen hillige woort unde die nu mit malcanderen van boven uth God geboren syn, keert af daer is lange noch gedwaelt, soeket wederomme uwen enighen unde rechten Herder Christum Jesum die ghi vorloren hebben, die u doch nemmermeer liegen bedriegen ofte feilen mach, want syn woort blyft in der ewicheit, syn gront licht daer sal oock gheen ander gelecht worden tot ewigen dagen 1. Corin. 3.

AMISH ORDINATION CHARGES

John Umble

The student of Amish Church history is almost wholly dependent on the chance discovery of unpublished manuscripts. Few students have access to such manuscripts as are in circulation among the Old Order Amish. Amish Mennonite bishops (elders) formerly possessed the same written copies of directions for procedure in the various rites and ceremonies of the church as are in use by the present Old Order Amish. These were written in German. After the German language fell into disuse among Amish Mennonites,* these German manuscripts were preserved chiefly for their sentimental value. Now the few that have escaped the ravages of rodents and two or three scores of housecleanings, are stored in attics or repose in unused pigeon holes.

The writer is grateful to Bishop Jacob S. Gerig, pastor of the Oak Grove Amish Mennonite Church, near Smithville, Ohio, for the privilege of copying such a manuscript, neatly written and carefully preserved. Bishop Gerig received it with some other papers from his father, the late Benjamin Gerig, when the latter ordained him as his successor. The material is written in German script on two sheets of paper. The one paper, the larger, is evidently a copy of an earlier manuscript and is written in a beautiful German script. The contents have probably been handed down in their present form for several centuries. This particular copy may antedate 1850 when some of the Ohio and Pennsylvania Amish congregations discontinued the earlier custom of conducting baptismal services indoors and introduced the method of baptizing in a stream of running water. This custom of out-door baptism still prevails in some Mennonite and Amish Mennonite congregations in Ohio and Pennsylvania. All Old Order Amish in America continue the ancient custom of in-door baptism.

The larger sheet, referred to above, contains the ordination charge for the four ranks of church officials recognized by the

* The term Amish Mennonite, as used in this article, refers to those congregations which, beginning about 1840, gradually laid aside some of the Amish customs and rules of discipline. Some of these have since adopted the name Mennonite. The Amish who retained the customs of the church gradually became known as Old Order Amish.

Amish Church: bishop, minister, deacon, and complete deacon, called in German, respectively: Bischof or Voelliger Diener, Diener zum Wort or Diener zum Buch, Armen-Diener, and Voelliger Armen-Diener.† The offices to which these four officials were called were designated, respectively, as Voelliger Dienst or Bischops-Amt—complete ministry, or bishop's office; Dienst zum Buch or Dienst zum Wort—ministry to the Book or ministry to the Word; Dienst zu den Armen—ministry to the poor; and Voelliger Dienst zu den Armen—complete ministry to the poor.

The second sheet contains the deacon's charge, printed last below. It is written in a slightly different hand-writing and was undoubtedly intended to replace the charge on the earlier manuscript after the institution of out-door baptism. The charge to the deacon as given in the earlier manuscript instructs him to "serve with water" during the baptismal service; the later document omits all reference to baptism but charges the deacon with certain responsibilities in connection with the communion services.

The following transcription of the manuscript in Bishop Gerig's possession copies the original in style, spelling and punctuation:

Vorshriften um ein Bischoff zu erwaelen

1) So wirt dir im namen der Herrn und der Gemein der foellige Dienst oder Bischoffs amt anbefohlen
2) Das du solst des Herrn Bitre Leiten und Sterben Verkuendigen und das brot brechen halten nach Christlicher ordnung und Vorbild mit brot und Wein mit der Gemein
3) Und So es Menschen gibt die Sich wollen zu der Gemein stellen so solst du sie den Christlichen glauben lehren und taufen
4) Und die ungehorsamen und Suender strafen mit rat der Gemein und so sie busz und besserung erzeigen so sollst du sie wieder aufnehmen mit rath der Gemein.
5) Und So brueter und Schwestern Sein in der Gemein die sich wollen verheiraten So solst du sie zusamen geben nach Goettlicher ortnung*

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† Mennonites have no office corresponding to Voellige Armen-Diener. Their Aeltester or Bestaetigter Diener, Diener, and Almosen-Pfleger correspond to the Amish bishop, minister and deacon.

* These Amish forms make a nice distinction between Christliche Ordnungen and goettliche Ordnungen, the former referring to New Testament ordinances and regulations, such as communion, and the latter to the Old Testament ordinance of marriage.

6) Und auch Diener ansetzen und fellige Diener ansetzen wo es noedig ist und geforderd wird in der Gemein
7) Und so du alt und schwach wirst so solst du ein Man nach dir verorden in deinen blatz
8) Dazu wolle dich der Herr sterken mit seinem heiligen und guten geist durch Jesum Christum Amen

Dienst zum wort

So wirt dir im namen des Herrn und der gemein der Dienst anbefohlen zum buch dasz Du solst mit der Gemein hin und her reten lesen und beten das gute helfen beschuetzen und dasz boese hoelfen strafen und zu verhueten

Dienst zu den Armen

So wirt dir im Namen des Herrn und der Gemein der Dienst anbefohlen zu den Armen dasz du solst sorg tragen fuer Witwen und Weisen und almosen einnehmen und ausgeben mit rat der Gemein und wan Geschwistern Sin die in den Ehstand treten wollen so solst du ihnen dienen nach goettlicher ortnung und solts den diener die Schrift lesen wen es geforderd wird und mit wasser dienen in der tauf wan es geforderd wird.

Vollen Dienst zu den Armen

1) In dem namen des Herrn und seiner Gemein wirt dir der foelligen Dienst anbefolen zu den Armen
2) Das du solst Sorg dragen dir Witwen und Weisen und Solt almosen einnehmen und austheilen mit rath der gemein
3) und sold auf lehr und predigt achtung geben ob des Herrn wort recht gelehrt oder verfaest [verfaelscht] wirt
4) und wan sich Zank und streid haendel giebt in der Gemein so solst du fleisig darnach sehen, und es suchen zu vermilten [vermitteln] nach des Herrn wort und Christlicher ortnung
5) und wan Brueder und Schwaestern in der gemein wollen Verheiraten so sold du ihnen aufrichtig dienen nach Christlicher ortnung, und solts auch helfen foellige Diener bestaetigen
6) und so es gefortert wird so solst du auch helfen dienen in dem wort, dazu wolle dich der Herr Sterken mit seinem heiligen und guten Geist durch Jesum Christum Amen

On a separate sheet written in a bold German hand is another charge to the deacon which, no doubt, replaced the "Dienst zu den

Armen" charge given above after some Amish Mennonites began the practise of outdoor baptism. The date of this change is not definitely fixed. The change in mode of baptism was a controversial issue in some of the earlier Amish General Conferences (Allgemeine Diener-Versammlungen) the first of which was held in 1862, but the report of these discussions indicates that the controversy had been of some years' standing. It would be interesting to learn where, when, and by whom the following charge to the deacon was adopted or authorized.

Dienst zu den Armen

Im Namen des Herrn und der Gemen wird dir der Dienst zu den Armen anbefolen Du solst acht haben auf Witwen und Weisen das sie Versorgt sein, und Almosen einnehmen und ausgeben an die Nothduerftigen mit Rath der Gemein, und du solst fleiszig acht haben das alle Christliche regel und ordnung der Gemein befolgt werden und auch zu Tisch Dienen Zur Zeit des Abendmahls, und der Gemein mit lesen Vermahnen und beten.

Translation of the German Manuscript

In the following translation the rendition is literal wherever close adherence to the original permits of clearness and completeness of meaning.

The charge given to the bishop at his ordination

1) So in the name of the Lord and of the church the complete ministry or bishop's office is entrusted to you
2) that you shall declare the Lord's bitter suffering and death and observe the breaking of bread with the church according to Christian regulation and example with bread and wine
3) and if there are people who wish to unite with the church then you shall teach them the Christian faith and baptize them
4) and, with the counsel of the church, you shall punish the disobedient and sinners and when they manifest repentance and conversion you shall receive them again with the counsel of the church
5) and when there are brethren and sisters in the church who wish to marry you shall unite them according to the godly ordinance
6) and you shall also ordain ministers with full authority [i.e., bishops], wherever it is necessary and requested in the church

7) and when you become old and weak you are to ordain a man after you in your place
8) and may the Lord strengthen you with his holy and good spirit through Jesus Christ Amen

Ministry to the Word

So in the name of the Lord and of the church the ministry to the book is committed to you that you shall preach [expound the Word], read, and pray with the church, help protect good and help punish and prevent evil

Ministry to the Poor

So in the name of the Lord and of the church the ministry to the poor is committed to you that you shall care for widows and orphans and receive alms and give them out with the counsel of the church and if there are brethren and sisters who wish to enter the marriage state then you shall serve them according to the godly order and read the scriptures for the ministers when it is requested and shall serve with water in the baptismal ceremony if you are requested to do so

Complete Ministry to the Poor

1) In the name of the Lord and of the church the complete ministry to the poor is committed to you
2) that you shall take care of widows and orphans and shall receive alms and distribute them with the counsel of the church
3) and shall give attention to the teaching and the sermon to see whether the Word of the Lord is taught correctly or adulterated
4) and if contention and strife come into the church you are to look into it diligently and seek to settle it according to the Word of the Lord and Christian order
5) and if there are brethren and sisters in the church who wish to marry then you shall serve them uprightly according to the Christian order and shall also help to ordain ministers with full authority [bishops]
6) and if you are requested to do so you shall also help to minister in the Word and may the Lord strengthen you with his Holy and Good spirit through Jesus Christ Amen

Ministry to the Poor (Second Sheet)

In the name of the Lord and of the church the ministry to the poor

is committed to you You are to take heed that the widows and orphans are cared for and you are to receive alms and give them out to the needy with the counsel of the church and you are to exercise diligent care that all the Christian rules and customs of the church are observed and you are also to serve at the table at the time of the communion and you shall serve the church with reading, exhortation, and prayer

Interpretation and Commentary

This manuscript is interesting for the light which it throws on the concept of the duties of the various officials in the Amish Church. The second point in the charge to the bishop refers to one of his special duties at the time of communion. The Amish communion, sometimes called "das Abendmahl," "das Nachtmal," or "Gross Gma" (Grosse Gemeinde), was an all-day meeting. During the forenoon the Heils-Lehre, or Heil-Predigt (Salvation Sermon) reviewed the entire history of the Old Testament with particular emphasis on the preparation for and the prophecies concerning, the coming of the Messiah. This sermon might be delivered by a bishop or by any one of the ministers. In the afternoon, however, when the service continued with the narration of the life, suffering, and death of Jesus, this part of the service was the particular duty of the bishop or Voelliger Diener and he alone distributed the emblems to the congregation.

The third part of the charge refers to the bishop's special duty in giving instruction to any who wished to unite with the congregation, and in baptizing them. In the earlier Amish church no one except the bishop administered the rite of baptism. This is still true in the Old Order Amish Church.

Item (4) refers to the bishop's authority and duty in excommunicating or receiving members into the church. The writer recalls as one of the childhood experiences printed indelibly upon his mind, the excommunication of a member of the Amish Mennonite church. With trembling voice and tears streaming down his cheeks the venerable gray-haired bishop committed the guilty one "to the Devil and his Angels." The solemnity and real awfulness of such an occasion brought home to the congregation in a vivid manner the condition of anyone "without God and without hope in the world."

An important feature of item (4) is the expression "with the counsel of the church." No one was excommunicated or reinstated without the counsel and consent of the congregation.

Item (5)—only the bishop could unite brethren and sisters in marriage in the Amish Church. A complete church service was held in connection with the marriage ceremony and the festivities following continued for an entire day and far into the night. In some communities the tables were set for a week.

Item (6)—one of the prerogatives of a bishop was to ordain ministers and bishops. The church elected the candidates, but he supervised the choosing by lot and he alone could ordain with the laying-on of hands.

Item (7) was formerly carried out more conscientiously than it is at the present time. In a few instances bishops failed to appoint their successors in their lifetime, but in Wayne County, Ohio, for instance, the venerable Bishop John K. Yoder asked the congregation to vote for his successor for a considerable period before his death. When one of Yoder's own sons received only about one-tenth as many votes as Benjamin Gerig, another one of the ministers, Yoder refused to use the lot and forthwith ordained Benjamin Gerig as his successor. When Bishop Benjamin Gerig in turn grew old, he asked to have a successor elected and when his son, Jacob S. Gerig, received a large majority of votes, the aged bishop ordained him.

The duties of the ordinary minister, the Minister to the Word (or Minister to the Book, as he was sometimes called), were few and simple. They were chiefly to preach, read, and pray with the church. This had a special significance in connection with the Amish church service, however. The ritual prescribed that two entire chapters should be read during each regular service. The first was read after some introductory comments and was followed by further comment intended to prepare the congregation for the period of silent prayer which followed. This first chapter might be read either by a Minister to the Book or by the deacon, as may be seen by referring to the deacon's charge. But the second chapter, in connection with the reading of which there was extensive comment or a sermon, was usually read by one of the ministers to the book. The words "hin und her reden" seem to indicate thorough discussion or exposition rather than preaching. The Amish minister reads

a verse or two from the chapter prescribed for the particular Sunday on which the service is being held and then gives extended comments before reading the next. The older ministers usually do not refer to the printed text but quote from memory the entire chapter verse by verse as they proceed with the discussion.

The remainder of the charge to the minister to the word "to help protect the good and to help punish and prevent the bad," while it seems rather indefinite, had this special meaning in the Amish church: the minister to the book was always included in the council of ministers and shared with the bishop and the deacons the responsibility for the government of the church.

The charge to the deacon or minister to the poor shows that caring for the widows and orphans and collecting and dispensing alms with the advice and counsel of the church were his major duties.

Another part of the charge refers to a former custom now largely discontinued in all but the Old Order Amish congregations. This is the part referred to in the words, "If there are brethren and sisters who wish to enter the marriage state you shall serve them according to the godly order (or scriptural regulations)." This refers to the custom of the bridegroom's securing the assistance of the deacon in making a proposal of marriage. If a young brother in the church wished to marry a certain young woman, he asked the deacon to propose for him. One of the aged brethren still living told the writer recently that this was largely a matter of "treading out thrashed straw." In other words it was simply a form, probably handed down from an earlier period when the church took a much larger share in the marriage arrangements of its members than it does at the present time. Even at the time that the document under discussion was copied from an older manuscript, the young people had already found ways, no doubt, to arrive at a satisfactory understanding without the intervention of a third party. But the custom is still religiously observed, at least in form, among the Old Order Amish.

Another of the duties of the deacon was to read the scripture if he was asked to do so. This, as already stated, was usually the first chapter read in a service and very seldom, if ever, the second one. Although the deacon's charge omits all reference to his present duties as a disciplinarian, he may have been a disciplinary official

since the early years of the Amish Church. It is possible, however, that disciplinary duties have been assigned to him as his special work only since the discontinuance of the office of Voelliger Armen-Diener.

The Amish deacon also carried a pitcher or other vessel of water for the bishop during the baptismal service. All baptismal services took place in the home where the church service was being held and it was the duty of the deacon to pour water into the cupped hands of the bishop who was performing the ceremony. The bishop then poured the water on the head of the applicant and allowed his hands to rest there while he spoke the words of consecration.

Since the work of the complete ministry to the poor or of the Voelliger Armen-Diener is little understood even by Mennonite historians, and since the office has been allowed to fall into disuse by the Amish-Mennonites and to a large extent by the Old Order Amish, this document throws important light on the duties of this office.

The complete ministry to the poor includes, of course, the ordinary duties of the deacon such as caring for widows and orphans, receiving alms, and distributing them with the counsel of the church, and assisting the bride-groom in his marriage proposals. But he has several other important duties in addition. Item (3) in the charge lays upon him a special responsibility for seeing that the Word is taught in its purity. He is in a sense a critic of the sermon and has a right to pass on its orthodoxy and to point out any false teaching. At the end of every church service the deacon was asked for his testimony (Zeugniss) and a formula almost invariably followed was—"So far as I have heard and understood I believe that we have heard God's Word preached today."

The Voelliger Armen-Diener is also charged in a special way with church discipline. As already pointed out, all reference to church discipline is omitted from the charge to the deacon or minister to the poor. In some cases this special official, the Voelliger Armen-Diener, made himself a trifle obnoxious, especially to the young people, by taking it upon himself to censure their conduct in private and in public. The complete ministry to the poor included also a special responsibility for adjusting difficulties in the church. When difficulties arose between brethren in the church, when misunderstandings arose, when harsh words hastily spoken threatened

the fellowship of the believers, it was the complete deacon, *i. e.*, the Voelliger Armen-Diener, who was expected to bring the offenders together, and, if possible, to prevent the matter from becoming a problem for the action of the congregation as a whole.

Item (6) of the charge indicates that he is to be allowed to preach whenever he is requested to do so. This last point caused considerable difficulty in the Amish church during the seventh decade of the last century and was one of the points most frequently discussed in the earlier Amish General Conferences (Allegemeine Diener-Versammlungen). The question whether or not the Voelliger Armen-Diener had the right to take his regular turn in the preaching services with the other ministers was the cause of much of the difficulty between some of the ministers of Logan County and those of Champaign County during the later fifties and sixties. Bishop John Warye of Champaign County and Preacher David Plank did not approve of Voelliger Armen-Diener John P. King's taking his regular turn. They insisted that he should preach only when he was asked to do so. King being an excellent speaker, he and some of his friends insisted that he take his regular turn. The committee which finally adjusted this matter seems to have agreed with Warye and Plank, and for several years John P. King preached very infrequently in the home congregations.

As already stated, the purpose and history of this extra-biblical office is obscure. The Gerig manuscript clears up the point of the duties of the Voelliger Armen-Diener but the origin of the office is in itself a problem to be solved by some future Amish historian. It is possible that this office was created by the Amish during the persecution period when civil and ecclesiastical authorities attempted to stamp out the church by removing the officials who performed the church rites. By investing the alms officer with authority to discharge the bishop's duties, a congregation might hope to carry on even if its bishop were imprisoned or deported. Or by electing and ordaining an added official who should combine in one person the duties of both bishop and deacon the congregation would carry additional insurance for its safety and perpetuation.

The charge on the separate sheet printed on page 237 above, seems to be a revision and probably an attempt to combine the duties of the Diener zu den Armen and of the Voelliger Diener zu den Armen. The duties here given provided for the care of widows and orphans

and the receiving and distributing of alms, but there is also special mention of the needy and not only of widows and orphans. Here he is charged, as the Voelliger Armen-Diener had been, with special duties in regard to discipline. Both among the later Amish Mennonites and the present Old Order Amish one of the deacon's chief duties is to adjust difficulties among brethren in the congregation. That the office is threatening to fall into disuse among Mennonites and that many deacons aspire to the ministry may not be an entirely wholesome trend. Formerly the office of deacon was a position of high trust and honor and treated with great respect.

Reference to his assisting at baptism is, no doubt, omitted from the second sheet because the congregations which used this charge to the deacon had changed their mode of baptism. The rite was no longer conducted in the house but in a running stream and the bishop merely dipped the water out of the running stream with his cupped hands and poured it on the head of the applicant for church membership. Hence it was unnecessary for the deacon to serve with water at baptism. This later document charges the deacon with assisting at the Lord's table during communion and allows him to serve the church with reading, exhortation, and prayer whenever he is requested to do so. Serving at the Lord's table included providing the bread and wine used in the communion service. The deacon's wife baked the large loaves of homemade bread and cut the generous slices used in the service. With his own hands the deacon tended his little vineyard and made the wine. The vineyard usually yielded a somewhat more abundant supply than was needed for the semi-annual communion services![*]

The last part of the charge, serving the church with reading, exhortation and prayer, was never interpreted as giving the deacon authority to preach. He could not, as the Voelliger Armen-Diener could, read the second chapter in the morning service and preach from it. After the Amish Mennonites had discontinued the Old

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* The practice of using unfermented wine in the communion service did not become general in the Mennonite and Amish Mennonite congregations until the nineties when one conference after another voted to permit the use of unfermented "fruit of the vine" in observing the rite. In one conference, at least, the object of the change was to remove temptation for the sake of members who had formerly been guilty of overindulgence in strong drink. See *Herald of Truth,* XXXIII (June 15, 1896), 182. See also *Herald of Truth,* XLIII (Oct. 25, 1906), 406; here the Indiana-Michigan (Mennonite) Conference recommends unfermented wine "to avoid temptation to the weak." The 1873 Amish General Conference, however, had condemned the brewing of beer and ale and the distillation of hard liquors by members of the Church.

Order Amish custom of observing a long period of silent prayer following the reading of the first chapter, the deacon might read the first chapter and follow that with exhortation and the opening prayer of the church service.

The careful student of this early document, the original of which may date back at least as much as two centuries, is impressed by the careful provision for carrying out all the duties of the ministry and for preventing overlapping of duties or authority. Another point is the completeness and the self-sufficiency of the congregation. With its full complement of officials—Voelliger Diener, Diener zum Buch, Armen Diener and Voelliger Armen-Diener—the congregation is a complete self-perpetuating, self-governing unit with all the duties arising out of the life and activity of a Christian community properly delegated and provided for. It is true that there is no provision for the instruction of children but the early Amish or Mennonite home knew its duty in this respect and discharged that duty nobly.

Another Version of the Ordination Charges

It is interesting to compare the ordination charges in the Gerig manuscript with the following which are in the possession of Mr. D. B. Swartzendruber of Kalona, Iowa. Mr. D. B. Swartzendruber's father, the late Bishop (Voelliger Diener zum Buch) Jacob F. Schwarzendruber,[1] of Kalona, Iowa, copied these charges from forms in possession of Bishop Abner Yoder,[2] grandfather of Bishop Abner G. Yoder, of Parnell, Iowa. Bishop Jacob F. Schwarzendruber was ordained to the ministry (Dienst zum Buch) by Bishop David Miller (Little David) of Indiana, later of Holmes County, Ohio, in March, 1878. On December 4, 1887, he was ordained Voelliger Diener zum Buch by Bishop William K. Miller in a church service at the home of Christian P. Brenemann. Assisting in the laying on of hands in this service were four Voellige Diener zum Buch; William K. Miller, Peter Brenemann, Peter Kinsinger, and Christian J. Miller, and Bishop Schwarzendruber's own father,

1 Bishop Jacob F. Schwarzendruber (1851-1924), lifelong resident of Iowa, was a grandson of Bishop Jacob Schwarzendruber (1800-1868), who was born in Waldeck, Germany and ordained Amish Bishop in Johnson County in 1853. One of his sons was a Voelliger Diener, one a Voelliger Armen-Diener.

2 Bishop Abner Yoder (1814-1883) was born in Somerset County, Pa., and was ordained Diener zum Buch and Voelliger Diener zum Buch there in 1842 and 1848, respectively. He moved to Johnson County, Iowa, in 1866.

Voelliger Armen-Diener Frederick Schwarzendruber. The next month, January 24, 1888, Bishop Jacob F. Schwarzendruber copied the ordination forms as well as the forms for communion, baptism, marriage, and restoration of an erring member from copies in the possession of Bishop Abner Yoder mentioned above.

The following transcription of the forms, as copied by Bishop Jacob F. Schwarzendruber, copies the style, spelling and punctuation used in the manuscript:

Der Vollige Dienst zum Buch wird Kniend mit Haend-auflegung anbefohlen

So wird dir im Namen des Herrn und der Gemein der Voellige Dienst zum Buch anbefohlen: Dasz du sollst des Herrn bitter Leiden und Sterben vortragen und das Brod brechen halten (nach Christi Vorbild) mit Brod und Wein mit der Gemein, Und so es Menschen gibt die sich wollen zu der Gemein stellen, so sollst du sie den Christlichen Glauben lehren und sie Taufen. Und die ungehorsamen Suender strafen mit Rath der Gemein Und so sie wieder Busze und Besserung erzeigen sollst du sie wieder aufnehmen mit Rath der Gemein Und so Brueder und Schwestern sind die sich wollen in den Ehestand begeben so sollst du ihnen aufrichtig dienen nach Christlicher Ordnung und sie zusamen geben. Und sollst auch helfen, Voellige Diener bestaetigen; und Diener zum Buch bestaetigen, und ansetzen wo es noethig ist und gefordert wird in der Gemein, Und wann du alt und schwach wirst sollst du einen Mann nach dir verordnen an deinen Platz Dazu wolle dich der Herr Staerken und bekraeftigen mit seinem Heiligen und Guten Geist; *durch Jesum Christum, Amen!*

Sorgfaeltig abgeschriben von Abner Yoders Schriften.

Der Volligen Armen Dienst wird Kniend mit Haendauflegung anbefohlen

Im Namen des Herrn und der Gemein wird dir der Voellige Dienst zu den Armen anbefohlen Dasz du sollst Sorg tragen fuer Wittween und Waysen und sollst Allmosen einnehmen und austheilen mit Rath der Gemein und sollst auf Lehr und Predigt achtung haben ob des Herrn Wort recht gelehrt oder verfaelscht wird. Und wann es zank und Streithaendel in der Gemein gibt so sollst du fleisig darnach gehen und suchen Friede machen nach des Herrn Wort und Christlicher Ordnung, Und wann Brueder und Schwestern in

der Gemein sich wollen verheirathen so sollst du ihnen aufrichtig dienen nach Christlicher Ordnung, Und solst au [c]h helfen Vollige Diener bestaedigen und so es die Noth erfordert sollst du auch helfen im Wort dienen, Dazu wolle dich der Herr staerken durch seinen Heiligen Geist dur [ch] Jesum Christum, Amen!

Sorgfaeltige Abschrift Von Abner Yoders Schriften

Der Dienst zum Buch—Stehend

So wird dir im Namen des Herrn und der Gemein, der Dienst zum Buch anbefohlen; dasz du sollst mit der Gemein hin und her reden und lessen und beten und das Gute helfen beschuetzen und das Boese zu strafen und verhueten Und sollst die Ordnungs Gemein halten und zur Zeit des Abendmahls von den Altvaeter anfuehren wenn es an dich gefordert wird Und wann Geschwistert sind die in den Ehestand treten wollen so sollst du ihnen aufrichtig dienen bis das es der Gemein angesagt und geoffenbart ist. Dazu wolle dich der Herr sterken mit seinem Heiligen und Guten Geist durch Jesum Christum AMEN

Sorgfaeltige abschrift von A. Yoders Schriften

Der Dienst zu den Armen Stehend

So wird dir im Namen des Herrn und der Gemein der Dienst zu den Armen anbefohlen: dasz du solst Sorg tragen fuer Wittwen und Waysen und Almosen einnehmen [written above in different ink and different hand—und austeilen] mit Rath der Gemein Und wann Geschwistert sind die in den Ehestand treten wollen so sollst du ihnen aufrichtig dienen Und sollst den Diener die Schrift lesen und mit Wasser dienen in der Tauf wan es an dich gefordert wird Dazu wolle dich der Herr staerken mit seinem Heiligen und guten Geist durch JESUM CHRISTEM AMEN

Puenktlich Abgeschriben von Abner Yoders Schriften am 24ten Jan. 1888 J.F.S.

Following is a translation of the above ordination charges. The translation is literal whenever a literal rendering is consistent with clearness and completeness of meaning.

The Complete Ministry to the Book is committed with the laying on of hands—kneeling.

So in the name of the Lord and of the church, the Complete Ministry to the Book is committed to you You shall discourse on the Lord's bitter suffering and death and hold the communion serv-

ice (according to Christ's example) with bread and wine with the church. If there are people who wish to unite with the church you are to teach them the Christian faith and baptize them. You are to punish disobedient sinners with the counsel of the church and when they again show repentance and amendment, you are to receive them again with the counsel of the church. When there are brethren and sisters who wish to enter the marriage state, you are to serve them uprightly according to Christian ordinance and marry them. You shall also help ordain Complete Ministers and ordain Ministers to the Book and appoint them if it is necessary and is requested in the church. When you become old and weak you are to ordain a man after you in your place. And may the Lord strengthen you and empower you by His Holy and Good spirit through Jesus Christ Amen.

Carefully copied from Abner Yoder's forms.

The Complete Ministry to the Poor is committed with the laying on of hands—kneeling.

In the name of the Lord and of the church the Complete Ministry to the Poor is entrusted to you. You shall care for widows and orphans and shall receive alms and distribute them with the counsel of the church. You are to pay attention to the teaching and the sermon whether the word of the Lord is taught correctly or adulterated. When discord and strife arise in the church you are to go after it diligently and seek to make peace according to the Word of the Lord and Christian regulation. And when brethren and sisters in the church wish to marry you are to serve them honestly according to the Christian ordinance and shall also help ordain Complete Ministers. When need demands you are also to help serve in the Word and may the Lord strengthen you by His Holy Spirit through Jesus Christ Amen.

Painstaking copy of Abner Yoder's forms.

The Ministry to the Book—Standing.

So in the name of the Lord and of the church the Ministry to the Word is committed to you. You are to preach (discuss the Word) and read and pray with the church and help to shield the good and to punish and prevent evil, You are to hold counsel meeting and to recite the history of the patriarchs at the time of communion if it is requested of you. And when brethren and sisters wish to enter

the marriage state you are to serve them uprightly until it has been reported to the church and published. May the Lord strengthen you with his Holy and Good Spirit through Jesus Christ Amen.

Painstaking copy of Abner Yoder's forms.

The Ministry to the Poor—Standing.

So in the name of the Lord and of the church the Ministry to the Poor is committed to you. You shall care for widows and orphans and receive and distribute alms with the counsel of the church. When there are brethren and sisters who wish to enter the marriage state you are to serve them uprightly. You are to read the scripture for the ministers and serve with water at baptism if it is requested of you. May the Lord strengthen you with His Holy and Good Spirit through Jesus Christ Amen.

Copied literally from Abner Yoder's forms on the 24th of January 1888 J.F.S.

The Schwarzendruber manuscript gives several important additions. The Gerig manuscript omits instruction for the mode of ordination. The Schwarzendruber manuscript instructs as follows, the candidate for the Voelliger Dienst or for the Voelliger Armen-Dienst kneels while he is receiving the charge with the laying on of hands. The Diener zum Buch and the Diener zu den Armen stand while receiving the charge and laying on of hands is omitted. Otherwise the charge to the Voelliger Diener in the two manuscripts is practically identical. The Schwarzendruber manuscript makes an important addition, however, in the charge to the Diener zum Buch. The charge in the latter manuscript enjoins upon the Diener zum Buch the duty of conducting the counsel meeting and of giving the forenoon review of the lives of the patriarchs in connection with the communion service. He is also charged in this manuscript with the duty of announcing coming weddings in the congregation. The charge to the Armen Diener is practically the same in the two manuscripts.

The Old Order Amish still use the above ritual for ordaining bishops, ministers, and deacons. In checking over the Gerig manuscript with Voelliger-Diener Nathaniel P. Miller, bishop of the Southwest Clinton district near Goshen, Indiana, the writer learned that with only minor variations the Old Order Amish bishop of the present gives the same ordination charge as is contained in the Gerig manuscript.

The bishop's charge still in use by the Amish is practically identical with that printed above. To the minister's charge, Nathaniel Miller offered the following addition after the words "zu verhueten," "und zu Zeit des Abend-Mahls von den Alt-Vaeter reden und Leichtreden fuehren wo es von dir gefordert wird und erbaulich ist." (And at the time of the communion service narrate the story of the Patriarchs and conduct funeral services when it is requested of you and when it is edifying.) This duty of reviewing the history of the Patriarchs at the time of communion and of conducting funeral services may have been added to those of the minister at a later period to lighten the burdens of the bishop or in the case of funerals to make it possible for the burial services to be held in the absence of a bishop, or in communities which did not have a regularly ordained bishop.

To the charge given to the deacon (the one first printed above), Bishop Nathaniel Miller suggested one addition. This includes the words, "bis zur Offenbarung vor der Gemein," following the words "nach goettlicher ortnung." This would include slightly more than the simple duty of proposing for the bride-groom. It charges the deacon not only with making the marriage proposal but also with the duty of notifying the minister that the young people wished to marry and were ready for the publication of the banns. The actual publication of the banns (ausrufen) in the public service of the congregation was the duty of the ministers, particularly of the bishop.

Bishop Miller states that he knows of only two instances where the complete ministry to the poor (Vollen Dienst zu den Armen) has been used in the Amish Church.* The late John Yoder, who lived near the Greiner Church south of Middlebury, Indiana, and who was known as "Pumpkin John," was a Voelliger Armen-Diener. The other Voelliger Armen-Diener mentioned by Bishop Miller is Sam Swartz of Grabill, Indiana, ordained about three years ago. Bishop Miller states that the Voelliger Armen-Diener can perform such rites of the church as the marriage ceremony, baptism, and

* The writer knows of several others who served as Voelliger Armen-Diener in the Amish Mennonite Church. Samuel Yoder, of Mifflin County, Pa.; John P. King, of Logan County, Ohio; Frederick Schwarzendruber, of Kalona, Iowa; Eli L. Frey, of Fulton County, Ohio (still active); and Michael Schwarz, of Union County, Pa., later of Lancaster County, Pa. On the last named see "Amish Mennonites of Union County," in The Mennonite Quarterly Review, VII, pp. 175 and 180.

communion in the absence of a regular Voelliger Diener.* He was in reality a sort of vice-bishop who could perform the duties of the bishop in case of the latter's absence, illness, or disability. It may be that one reason why the office has fallen into disuse in America is that the growth of the Amish church provides nearly every settlement with more than one bishop. In three northern Indiana counties, alone, there are at least sixteen Amish Voellige Diener. In a country guaranteeing freedom of worship little likelihood exists of there being no one to perform the rites of the church.

According to Bishop Miller it is customary for a bishop on ordaining a new bishop to write out for him a complete ritual for performing the rites of the church such as marriage, baptism, and communion, and also to give him a copy (abschrift) of the ordination charge given to bishops, ministers, and deacons. The new bishop is expected to commit all of this material to memory but the written copy given him by the bishop who ordains him is intended to serve him until he has had time to commit the entire ritual to memory. Bishop Miller is able to repeat from memory not only the ritual used at all the rites of the church and at ordination services, but also large portions of scripture used in connection with the regular services. The writer has heard him recite entire chapters from memory on several different occasions in connection with the regular Old Order Amish church service.

The Gerig document handed down by the pious fathers of the Church and now almost forgotten on account of the loss of the German language contains much food for thought not only by the student of church history but also by the church administrator who finds himself overwhelmed by a multiplicity of problems in an increasingly complex age. Is it possible that the present tendency toward withdrawing authority from the lay membership of the church, which formerly expressed itself in congregational rule, and toward centralizing authority in bishop's councils and district conferences has raised more serious problems than those it was intended to solve? Were the fathers right in this, also, when they provided for, and practiced, simplicity in church government?

* Daniel Mast, ninety-year-old member of an Amish congregation near Shipshewana, Indiana, who was married in 1870 by Voelliger Armen-Diener John Yoder, reports Yoder as saying often that the Voelliger Armen-Dienst was "ein harter Dienst"—a trying ministry. He stated that he would be unwilling to agree to the ordination of anyone to that office because that official must be ready at a moment's notice to perform any of the rites of the Church but he might seldom or never be called upon to do so.

HISTORY OF THE FIRST MENNONITE CHURCH, KITCHENER, ONTARIO

J. Boyd Cressman

II. The Middle Period 1859-1902

While it has not been difficult to characterize the early period—the leadership of Benjamin Eby and his son Christian being so clearly marked—the middle period does not lend itself so readily to a general description. It seems to have been a period of beginning of activities. At Christian Eby's death the Sunday school apparently lapsed for a time. At least we have no record of it. Then in 1866 one was started at Mannheim on the urgent advice of Preacher Moses Bowman. This was the first of the Sunday schools in Ontario that have come down uninterruptedly to the present. After it came one at Detweiler's, then one in the Berlin district at Natchez, of which more later. These were the beginnings in Ontario of the modern Sunday school. Another beginning was the Aid Union, which we discuss in the next paragraph. Leadership at this time seems to have been a matter of the local situation. At times ministers initiated things; then again laymen took the lead. It is best to speak of the period as one of beginnings.

On April 2, 1866, a meeting was held in the Christian Eby meetinghouse to arrange for the organization of an aid union for fire damage. A committee consisting of members elected by each congregation was to draw up a plan. On April 9 these men met again and presented a constitution[26] with 15 resolutions. Of course this was an undertaking shared in by the whole conference or at least by the whole county. Since this is the first constitution we present it, in translation, in its entirety.

Community Union of the Mennonites for Compensation for Fire Damage

At the wish of various brethren a meeting was called to take into consideration the possibility of establishing a union for compensation from fire damage. This meeting was held on the 2nd of April, 1866, at which it was resolved by a majority that each broth-

26. This document is owned by Jacob S. Snyder, Waterloo, Ontario.

er who joins the union should have his buildings valued, and that in each district a man shall be chosen, whose duty it is to record the valuations in his district. These men were elected and requested to draft a plan. The same held a meeting on the 9th of April and presented the following plan:

I. Each brother shall call together two or more of his neighbors in order to valuate his buildings; or if a congregation is unanimous in choosing two or three men for the task of evaluating the buildings in their congregational district they shall have the privilege of so doing; and in the event of fire each shall pay according to his assessment.

II. Each district man shall keep a record of the valuations in his district and hand in a transcript to the elected central man; further, if fire occurs, to collect the fire taxes in his district and send them to the central man.

III. The duties of the central man are:

1. To receive a transcript of each valuation and enter it in a book kept for that purpose so that he can, in case of fire, assess the dues according to each valuation.
2. To receive the dues from these men chosen to collect them, enter the record of his book and give each a receipt.
3. To pay out to those who suffer fire-losses their share of the assessed dues and take a receipt for this payment.
4. If he discovers that a representative violates these rules in administering them, he shall endeavor to correct the matter and if this proves abortive, to call together the other representatives in order to adjudge the affair.

IV. In order that matters may be done properly, the central man shall name a man and the district men another, who, annually, or as often as is necessary, shall examine the accounts of the central man.

V. As a general rule two thirds of a fire damage shall be paid; however, if brethren are in needy circumstances following a fire, they shall receive as much more as their neighboring brethren and several of the district men decide is right.

VI. If a fire has taken place, several of these district men, who live nearest, shall go there as quickly as possible, taking with them several of the closest neighbor brethren in order, in the presence of the man who has suffered the damage, to count up and estimate the burned implements and household utensils; of such losses two thirds are to be paid, or more in certain cases as provided above.

VII. Those brethren who live on rented farms, shall have the opportunity of having their cattle, grain, feed, and farm implements and household equipment valued at a fair rate and in case of fire such a one shall be paid according to the valuation of the goods concerned.

VIII. The above mentioned compensations are all concerned with private buildings. If mills, factories, stores, and so on, burn,

only half of the damage shall be paid with no ensuing payment as with private buildings.

IX. If they do desire, all preachers of the Mennonite church shall pay no dues on the buildings which they personally use, yet having the same claim to payment of losses as other brethren.

X. Each brother shall have the privilege of having his buildings re-valuated in the event of alterations to them.

XI. It is the duty of each brother, if he sees any other careless with fire in or about his buildings, to remind the erring one of his duty.

XII. If the above rule is put to the exact test and brethren are negligent in their duty, then the elected district man shall remind each undutiful brother in his district of his obligations.

XIII. The district men and the central man, as well as all brethren who undertake evaluations, must do their work gratis.

XIV. Since opinions may be divided in a community concerning payment for fire damages, each brother shall act according to his conviction. All are to help each other and one is not to look with suspicion on another, rather bearing with one another in love and patience.

XV. Whoever wishes to join this union shall signify by placing his signature below.

Samuel Y. Schantz	D. Y. Schantz
Henry Cressman	John S. Hallman
John B. Bowman	Jacob Bergey
A. B. Clemens	George Histand
C. Pannabecker	Jonas Bingeman
Joseph Y. Schantz	Daniel Burkholder

This first constitution speaks for itself. The organization is simple, the rules clear and fair. From this date the union has a regular history, governed substantially in the manner laid down here, and serving the church faithfully and well up to the present.

Let us now consider the general progress and state of the church up to the time of the so-called "New Mennonite" division in 1874. As concerns the Berlin church particularly, on the material side we may note that in 1876 two parcels of land were added to the cemetery. On June 1, Menno and Lydia Erb sold to Joseph Schneider, then trustee, one and twenty-two hundredths acres for $183. This was certainly an excellent price. In 1833 the highest land valuation was some $12.00 per acre. This is approximately $140 per acre. On the same date, June 1, William and Mary Moyer gave twenty-three hundredths of an acre for the legal one dollar. With these additions the entire church property, in 1876, comprised 3 and 7/10 acres.

On the numerical strength of the Berlin congregation at this time as well as that of the township, various statistics are available. The *Berliner Journal* of December 4, 1862, gives the total of Quakers, Mennonites and Tunkers as 4,395 out of a total population for the county of 38,750. Sutherland's directory[27] for 1864 gives the same population for the county, 38,750, and the Mennonists and Tunkers as 4,334. The two are sufficiently similar to corroborate each other. Sutherland also gives the religious census for Berlin and Waterloo for 1864. In the former he lists 133 Mennonists and Tunkers; in the latter 80. It will be of interest also to note his statistics on the number of settlers in Waterloo township from 1825 to 1864. He lists them thus: in 1825, 1640; in 1844, 4424; in 1850, 7759; in 1864, 13,965. Readers can make their own deductions.

So much on the external progress of the church during this short period up to 1874. Let us go on to the spiritual state of the church. On Christian Eby's death in 1859 the congregation had only one minister, namely Abraham C. Weber. In 1860 Daniel Wismer was ordained. Whether he was ordained for this congregation is not certain, although since he lived in the vicinity of the town it seems probable that he was. Sutherland's 1864 directory names him and Moses Erb as the ministers, with no mention of Abraham Weber. Of course we know that failure to include the last is merely an omission. Though it is fair to assume that Daniel Wismer was ordained for this place we know that Moses Erb was ordained for Snyder's and later moved to Berlin.

On spiritual conditions and church methods we have an excellent source of information in the HERALD OF TRUTH for April, 1866. It seems that Elias Eby had exchanged letters with a Mennonite in the Grand-Duchy of Baden, in Germany. He had asked a series of questions on church conditions in Germany. In turn the European brethren had submitted ten questions seeking information of the Waterloo brethren. David Sherk of Preston was appointed to answer these. The answers are so rich in information that it seems best to translate them and give them in full. Sherk states the questions and their answers.

> First. Were the forty persons above mentioned (in the previous summer forty persons, between the ages of seventeen and twenty

27. James Sutherland, *County of Waterloo Gazetteer and Directory for 1864.*

four had been baptized) descended from Mennonite parents or not?

Answer: During the past year there were more than fifty persons in all received into the church by baptism. Of this number probably one-third were not of Mennonite descent, of whom the greater part were descendants of the Lutheran and several also of the German Reformed Church, and thus in general such constantly are received. There have at the present time two persons, man and his wife, of the Lutheran church made application to be received by baptism into our church.

Secondly. Are those who have grown up in our church admitted into fellowship at a certain age and at fixed times in groups?

Answer: We do not look on the age of a person. We endeavor to preach the word as plainly and with as much unction in our meetings as the Lord enables us to do; we seek to declare to them from the Scriptures the will of God; we keep nothing back from them but announce to them repentance toward God and faith in Christ; and, as soon as they become willing to submit to the word of life and desire to be baptized, we then proceed to impart to them further special instructions in the principles of our faith in which we seek to make them accurately acquainted with the principles of non-resistance, for which purpose we use here in Canada the eighteen articles drawn up in Dort, in Holland; and as soon as they are sufficiently instructed and convinced that the doctrine of non-resistance is that taught by the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone, and are willing to live in accordance with the same, and to aid in building up the church, they are then baptized in the three holy names and received into the church, whether they have been brought up in the church or otherwise. If practicable we will send you one of our books. This then is an answer also to your third question. (This third question was whether the Canadians had a book of instruction in faith and practice).

Fourth question: What formulary and hymnbook do you use in addition to the Bible in time of divine worship?

Fourthly. In our divine service, we ordinarily use, in connection with the Bible, only a hymn book, and open and close our religious exercises with singing.

Fifthly. Do we hold our meetings only in the forenoon on Sunday?

Answer: Generally we have our meetings in the forenoon; but when special religious instruction is to be given, it is customary to do this in the afternoon; and as all are at liberty to be present on such occasions, our churches are oftentimes then also well filled. Frequently also where there are aged and feeble persons who cannot well attend preaching at the ordinary places of meeting, afternoon services are held at their houses.

Sixthly. In reference to the question, whether we have any other social meetings for devotional and religious exercises, we

must confess that there are no regular meetings of this kind sustained among us. Some of our ministers, however, seek, in their weakness, whenever opportunity offers, either in the afternoon on Sundays or any other time, in visits at small social gatherings, to edify themselves and their company from the word of God, perhaps singing one or more hymns and in simplicity praying with them before parting with each other.

Seventhly. Is family worship observed in all the families?

Answer: If you mean to ask as I suppose you do, whether parents hold regularly social prayer at home with their families, I must answer that, so far as I know, there are but few who do this; though I would much rather see it otherwise, and be able in truth to give a different answer, if it were done in simplicity to the honor of God, and not merely to be seen of men.

Eighthly, comes the very important question whether we have specially appointed travelling ministers or preachers, who visit the scattered members of the church to encourage and strengthen them, etc.

Answer: You no doubt have perhaps also experienced to some extent that when improvement is to be effected in social matters, it is attended with many difficulties, and can very often not be easily brought about, on account of the diversity of views which we entertain. So it is in this case, as also in many other important points, in which perhaps too much has been lost through the various hindrances which our church had to encounter in this new country. There has already been much discussion in order to bring about more effective plans or means to visit more diligently at least the scattered members of our church, to strengthen them in the faith and to sustain in them the growth in grace. But hitherto no definite plan has been adopted, to accomplish anything by social efforts in this important matter; and as yet there has not, I think, been a proper earnestness manifested in the cause. May the Lord grant that what you have written may be, by his help, a powerful means of assistance to us in this cause; for all things must work together for good to them that love God.

Lastly, in reference to the ninth and tenth questions, in regard to the "missionary cause," which without doubt is an important matter, we must reply that among us in Canada no united effort beyond prayer has as yet been put forth to raise contributions for this purpose, except what each feels disposed to contribute individually as he thinks proper.

Sherk then goes on to expound his own views which are wholly in favor of such work.

In summarizing this briefly we can notice the conditions of progress in the church. That as much as one-third of the new members in one year were of non-Mennonite stock indicates that the church was not unduly exclusive. The conditions of baptism support this.

In the early days of the Ontario church children do not appear to have joined until they reached a certain age, as we infer from the petition of 1810 to the government concerning military exemption. But by this time adults were admitted on a soundly evangelical basis. Certainly there was no cause for division in this attitude. There were no evening services; but there were special afternoon services. Evidently there were not many of these, as the sixth question indicates. Of this more anon. Last, there was no mission work sponsored by the church, nor even official support. Here there were grounds for difference of opinion.

Before coming to the division of 1874, we must note the rise and early development of the second institution, founded in this decade, which has come down to the present. That is the Sunday school. This was a different one than that begun by Elias Eby in 1841, as noted above. That Sunday school seems to have continued up to and during the ministry of Christian Eby. At least there is one member of First Mennonite Church still living, Mrs. Moses Betzner,* who recalls going to Christian Eby's Sunday school when she was a child. However, this was not a Sunday school as we know it today. It was chiefly a school to teach the younger children the German language. After Christian Eby's death even this Sunday school seems to have been discontinued. The work was begun in this district anew in the spring of 1869[28] by Jacob Z. Kolb, later a deacon but then a layman. Elias Kolb states that his father got the inspiration for this work from a visit he paid to the schoolhouse in Roseville, some time prior to 1869, the exact date being uncertain, where a Sunday school was then in progress under the leadership of Jacob C. Bowman and John Unger. Consequently he was mainly instrumental in starting a Sunday school in the Natchez schoolhouse in the Spring of 1869. This school did not run all year, but from spring to fall. Jacob Kolb was the first superintendent; Isaac Eby, grandson of Benjamin Eby, was his assistant. Henry Cressman, Moses Devitt, and Benjamin Shoemaker were active workers. Abram C. Clemmer was chorister.

Various grades of work were done in this school. The primary classes started in to learn the German language, most likely using

* Since deceased.

28. This and subsequent dates and facts are given by Elias Kolb of Kitchener, Ontario, son of Jacob Z. Kolb.

Benjamin Eby's A.B.C. books. For the older children there were books with Bible stories simply told. The advanced classes used the New Testament, selecting a chapter each Sunday for discussion. Everything was in German. After the regular class work the superintendent gave a review or else called on a qualified visitor to speak. Attendance was about 75. It may be of interest to note that Elias Weber, then a deacon at the Cressman Church, conducted the devotional at the opening meeting of this school. This would indicate that the church approved of the Sunday school. At the same time, it seems clear that the church was not ready to hold it in a church building, at least in this district. Elias Kolb says that Jacob Y. Shantz came to Natchez to this Sunday school. This would indicate there was none in the Eby church at that time for he lived close by that church. More evidence on this point is given by Aaron Shantz.[29] He states that in 1871 he attended Natchez as a visitor. Had there been a Sunday school at that time in the Eby meetinghouse he would have gone there. Yet he says that in 1875 he attended Sunday school at the Eby meetinghouse many times. By considering two more points we can determine fairly well just when Sunday school was started at Christian Eby's meetinghouse. First Elias Kolb says that after several years attendance dropped off at the Natchez Sunday school because another had been started in Berlin at Eby's. Second, he says that his father's family used to attend this one some times during the winter when the Natchez Sunday school was closed. Considering that Jacob Y. Shantz came to Natchez in the summer, we may infer that Sunday-school work was begun at Christian Eby's first during the winter only, and possibly as early as 1870. It was likely only a winter school in 1871. But noting Aaron Shantz's dates which Elias Kolb confirms, we may infer that a year round Sunday school was held at Eby's in 1873 and 1874. This Sunday school was conducted on the same lines as that at Natchez. The first superintendent there was Michael Hauck, according to Isidore B. Snyder. Snyder himself was chorister. This work was discontinued at the time of the division.

One more bit of evidence must be considered before coming to the division. This is the document containing the conference minutes of the 1873 sessions. Two conferences were held at Berlin, a special one on February 27, 1873; the regular one on April 4. The

29. Now a member of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church.

former speaks chiefly of the necessity of good order and a brotherly handling of church affairs. In particular "unschickliche Redensarten" (unseemly speech) was forbidden. The final resolution, we quote entirely in translation.

> "Since the suspicion has arisen among the congregations that many wish to suppress the office of bishop, the matter was taken into consideration, and it was unanimously decided that there shall be bishops."

This is the only specific point considered on which variance of opinion had arisen. At the semi-annual conference of April 4, 1873, two resolutions bear on the division.

> 3. The matter of the present revival meetings was taken up, and freely discussed; however, it was decided by a majority that such should be sanctioned on the following scriptural grounds; I Cor. 14; Eph. 5, 17, 22; Phil. 2, 1-4; I Thes. 5, 11; Heb. 3, 13, Chapter 10, 23-26. It is understood, of course, that such shall be held in evangelical order, by all brothers and sisters who wish to avail themselves of this freedom.
>
> 4. Inasmuch as a so-called extended meeting was held by several preachers of the Mennonite Church, this was considered and decided by a majority that such are not practical among our present church conditions.

Not to discuss at any length a matter which has been decided, and well-nigh forgotten, we shall briefly record the circumstances. The division of 1874 was an outcropping of the same sort of desire and experience that caused the Daniel Hoch division at Vineland in the 1840's. For a number of years Daniel Hoch had urged, and held, prayer meetings and special meetings. Censure was followed by ejection and that in turn by reconciliation. Finally, in May, 1849, Daniel Hoch was excommunicated[30] and never reinstated. Being a zealous, active man, he soon had a following. In Waterloo County such men as John M. McNally of Blair and Samuel Slichter of New Dundee became actively associated with him. These were known as the "New Mennonites." About 1870 a minister of the old church began holding meetings around Berlin as the result of visiting Solomon Eby's meetings at Port Elgin. This movement spread until on May 15, 1874, a conference was held at Eby's meetinghouse, Berlin; "at which place such that believed in present salvation by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and those who had expe-

30. The story is told in two pamphlets published by him. *Scheiden* and *Wichtige Begebenheiten.*

rienced the pardon of their sins, and had the evidence of their acceptance with Christ, formed themselves into a Church organization, and as a name of distinction, adopted Reformed Mennonites."[31] This was the division of 1874. In 1875 this group united with the "New Mennonites" of Indiana to form the "United Mennonites" and eventually after several mergers became the "Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church" of today.

What were the real causes of this division? As we have just seen, the old church had a Sunday school. Moreover the 1873 conference had sanctioned revival meetings. As for the question of a personal experience as the basis of church baptism, the statement of David Sherk in 1866, only 8 years before this division, is as evangelical as that just quoted from the minutes of the Reformed Mennonite Conference of 1874. These are usually considered to have been the points at issue. Yet the old church had granted all of them. The real question at issue was one of procedure. It will be noted that although the old church sanctioned revivals, they did not wish them of long duration, as article 4 of the April, 1873, conference clearly states. To procedure we must add government. As the February, 1873, conference report indicates, the new group was opposed to bishop rule. Their later organization bears out this opinion. We may say, then, that the causes were two: church government and speedy progress. The old church wished to make progress slowly. The new group wished to do so quickly. This is an old story in history. Those in authority, sobered by responsibility, invariably, and wisely, move cautiously toward changes. Reformers, free from cares of administration, rush impulsively into action. This is in the nature of things. What more need be said.

We shall now carry on the account of the Sunday school up to 1902. The work at Natchez was resumed in May, 1876,[32] and carried on there up to 1880. Elias Kolb believes the workers were Jacob Kolb, Benjamin Shoemaker, Moses Snyder, and Noah Betzner. From there it was moved to Centreville, the reason apparently being that of location. This was a union Sunday school in co-operation with the Evangelicals and United Brethren. However, all officers were Mennonites, Benjamin Shoemaker and Moses Wismer

31. *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Evangelical United Mennonites,* Goshen, Indiana, published by E. Y. Mennonite Publication Society, 1880.

32. Letter from Andrew Schaaf, Imlay City, Michigan.

being superintendents. In 1887 the feeling seems to have arisen that a union school had outlived its usefulness and that a strictly denominational one was preferable. Hence in that year, 1887[33], the Sunday school was moved back to the Eby meetinghouse at Berlin, where it has remained since. Probably the first superintendent was Jacob Kolb, although there was likely no clear distinction as to officers. There were leading workers, and "all took part."[32] These workers were: Jacob Kolb, Abram Wambold, David Shirk, Benjamin Shoemaker, Andrew Schaaf, Isaac Weber, Enos Shantz, and Isidore B. Snyder. The last named was chorister. At this time all instruction was in German and lesson helps in that language were used for the first time. These were at first not Mennonite but Evangelical. It was in 1890 or 1891, after the first visits of John S. Coffman, who began to write helps for the Mennonite Publishing Company at Elkhart in 1890, that Mennonite helps were used. It was in 1889, says Elias Kolb, that the first English class was started. This was a class of boys and he was the teacher, but there seems to have been no English class for the women until about 1893 or 1894. However, up to 1902 most of the classes were German, and there were still German A.B.C. classes. Sunday school was held every Sunday but was always in the afternoon.

According to the secretary's book of the Ontario Sunday School Conference, Isidore B. Snyder and David Shuh were superintendent and assistant superintendent, respectively, of the Berlin Sunday school from 1892 to 1895, inclusive, a period of four years. However since the former remembers clearly that he was superintendent for five years we can state that these men began their work in 1891, the conference minutes not giving names of officers before 1892 and being incomplete in this respect. This is the beginning of the regular organization that we have today. In 1896 M. C. Cressman and Eli S. Hallman were the superintendents. The former remained superintendent up to the end of this middle period, the end of 1901. The latter was assistant in 1896 and 1897. Being by that time a minister, he seems to have withdrawn from the office. In 1898 Jacob B. Snyder was assistant superintendent, followed in this office in 1899 by Henry Feick and in 1900 by Enos Doll. Josiah Weaver was secretary from 1892 to 1897 inclusive. Henry B.

33. The date of this is established by Isaac Oberholzer, Kitchener, Ontario, as being identical with the year his father died.

Schantz held that office from then to the end of 1901. Over the period from 1892 of which we have accurate record, the attendance will be of interest. The enrollments from 1892 to 1898 were: 260, 240, 226, 230, 271, 282; the attendances were 161, 152, 135, 122, 149, 129, an average of usually slightly more than fifty per cent.

Before concluding the section on the Sunday school, mention must be made of the first Sunday-school conference in Ontario held on Whit-Monday, May 26, 1890. This seems to have been not only the first such conference held in Ontario but the first held anywhere in the Mennonite church. Of course this resulted from the action of the whole conference and not merely of one congregation. From a conference resolution and the attendance of bishops and ministers at this meeting we know that the new step was taken with the full sanction of the church. From 1890 to 1900 inclusive these were held in the Christian Eby church in Berlin, 1899 alone excepted, the latter being held in the Cressman church at Breslau. So much, then, for Sunday-school work in the old frame church to the end of the middle period.

We come now to the state and progress of the regular church work in the middle period. In this part we may perhaps include some statistics on the Russian Immigration of the 1870's gleaned from a letter of Jacob Y. Shantz.[34] He reported as follows: In 1874, 274 families, totalling 1407 souls arrived; these got $23,000 from Ontario Mennonites as a loan. In 1875 there were 627 families, totalling 3,200 souls; these received $65,000 from the government secured by bonds from Ontario Mennonites, besides $5,000 as a loan from our people and $2,000 as a gift from the same. In 1876, 309 families totalling 1185 souls, arrived; for these he asks aid in this letter of the latter part of 1876. Thus the Mennonites of the 1870 decade did the same sort of service to their needy Russian brethren that the Pennsylvania Mennonites did in the first few years of the century for the first settlers in this county.

In 1878 Samuel S. Bowman was ordained to the ministry for the Berlin congregation, which he served long and faithfully. He brought to his new office the experience of many years of school teaching. He was an amiable and active man. His sermons were usually historical and expository. He lived to the ripe old age of 90 years, dying in 1924. On his 90th birthday he preached the reg-

34. *Herald of Truth,* January, 1877, Elkhart, Indiana.

ular morning sermon at the Berlin church, a fine proof of his vigor. The other minister to be ordained during the middle period was Eli S. Hallman in the spring of 1897. He served this congregation until 1906 when he helped to found the settlement of Mennonites at Guernsey, Saskatchewan. He is now a bishop of the Mennonite church, resident in Texas. In the office of deacon we may note that John Brubacher, date of ordination unknown, died in 1875. At his death, Jacob Z. Kolb, who had been ordained deacon for Breslau in 1874, was asked to serve at Berlin as well. He served both places until 1877 when John Schiedel was ordained for Breslau, after which he served only Berlin until 1890. In this year Benjamin Shoemaker was ordained for Breslau. However, since Shoemaker lived nearer Berlin and Kolb nearer Breslau it was arranged that the former should serve Berlin and the latter Breslau. Two years later, John Z. Detweiler, who had been ordained deacon for Detweiler's church at Roseville, moved to Berlin and also acted in this capacity at the Eby church.

In 1881 another addition was made to the cemetery. On November 5 of that year Peter E. W. Moyer sold to Henry Brubacher, Benjamin Shuh and George Hiestand, then the trustees of the old Mennonite Church, one eighth of an acre for the sum of $15.00. It may be of interest to note here that this is the first mention of the word "church" in deeds. Hitherto only the word "society" was used and not "Mennonite" but "Mennonist." Thus we may see that the word society has a very respectable history in our church.

Of spiritual progress in the church much can be gleaned from a diary kept by Bishop Amos S. Cressman. Two resolutions on the communion service are of interest. At the April 2, 1875, conference a resolution was passed that communion be held at the David Eby Meetinghouse. The reason why the annual conference passed such a resolution seems to be clearer by noting a resolution passed at the yearly conference of 1884 held on May 30 at Berlin. "Resolved that on the first Sunday after the annual conference communion is to be held only in the district in which the annual conference has been held." From this we can infer that communion was held only once a year and that the one service served all the churches in the county. A resolution of 1884 in opposition to musical instruments reminds us that it was not until some twenty years later that these were permitted and thirty years until they were freely used

in the homes of members. At the semi-annual conference of April 13, 1888, in Berlin, the following resolution on Sunday-school helps was passed. "Resolved that the Sunday school books of the Pennsylvania committee be used until they (scholars) are able to read in the New Testament. The leaders (of the S. S.) are to be members of the church in good standing and be chosen by the congregation." So it was in this year that Mennonite Sunday-school helps were first used. But they were only for a temporary help until pupils could read the Bible itself. It might be well if this purpose were followed more closely in the Sunday school of our day. On April 11, 1890, at Berlin, the semi-annual conference approved of the Sunday-school conference mentioned above. "Resolved that on the Whit-Monday forenoon next a general Sunday School Meeting shall be held at the Christian Eby meetinghouse."

On church affairs there is an interesting resolution on English preaching, passed by the April 11, 1890, semi-annual conference. We quote it entire.

> "Resolved that at the request of the congregation, English preaching be held every four weeks at Hagey's on the Sunday afternoon on which there is a morning service at Wanner's."

Thus it seems that the Hagey church was the first to have regular English preaching services in the county, for this was a matter of conference action and no other congregation is mentioned. In September of that year the semi-annual conference passed a significant resolution on communion services. "Resolved that communion services shall be prescribed in the calendar for the following year at two meetinghouses on one day." Thus, the above surmise on these services seems correct, and this is the first time that more than one service was available for members at one time. Although the church conference sanctioned the Sunday-school conference it was not yet ready to approve of Young People's Meetings. The April 10, 1891, semi-annual conference has a resolution forbidding the holding of Young People's meetings in church buildings. When were evening preaching services introduced? The following resolution, passed at the same 1891 conference, seems to answer that question. "Resolved that every two weeks, a Sunday evening service shall be held in the Christian Eby meetinghouse." Thus Hagey's had the first regular English service, and Berlin the first regular evening services. At this time the morning service, all in German,

was probably held once in two weeks at Berlin; certainly not every Sunday. This was the state of the church at the beginning of the nineties.

We come now to the most important single influence in the middle period, the John S. Coffman revivals. Although revival meetings had been sanctioned by conference resolutions prior to the coming of J. S. Coffman their use was circumscribed. Thus a resolution of 1876[35] reads, "As concerns the revival meetings every brother has the privilege of requesting a preacher to hold a meeting for the sick, afflicted, and aged or those in doubt about their salvation. But the meetings announced in advance are not approved." While this resolution laid a certain foundation for evangelistic effort it prescribed its limits pretty carefully and this feeling prevailed up to 1890. That John S. Coffman had opposition we know from the facts told us by the converts of his meetings, people ever since faithful members of the church. However, it is also true that the opposition was not too serious. At any rate his revivals swept the church and set it on fire with a new zeal. Ordained to the ministry on July 18, 1875,[36] in Virginia, he had come west to Elkhart, Indiana, as a young man in 1879. There he helped in publishing work and preaching and was gradually drawn into the evangelistic field. His interest in Canada began in 1890. In his diary for 1890 we notice this entry on May 31: "Father has gone with Brother Funk to the Canada Conference." These men were Bishop Samuel Coffman of Virginia and Preacher J. F. Funk, the Mennonite publisher. Later in that year, Deacon Jacob Z. Kolb and George Clemens visited Indiana to invite J. S. Coffman to come.[37]

Early in 1891 J. S. Coffman came to Canada for the first time. He arrived in Berlin at 5 p. m. Saturday, January 10. Characteristically, he wasted no time in getting to work. His diary for that day says, "We had meetings at Berlin this evening, and had a well filled house, and good interest. There are many members here, but very many who are out that should be gathered in. May God help that they may be gathered into the fold and become workers in the good cause." His text that evening was John 3:19; "condemnation." The above situation describes the church exactly.

35. From the note book of the late Bishop Amos Cressman.
36. J. S. Coffman's manuscript diary for April 9, 1890. Diary in possession of S. F. Coffman, Vineland, Ontario.
37. Invitation by these men confirmed by E. S. Hallman, now of Tuleta, Texas.

That God did prosper his meetings we know. They laid the foundations for the present congregation. His converts of those years were the men and women who were the active workers in this congregation for the next thirty-five years.

On this first trip he stayed in Waterloo County until January 30 and preached at most of the churches in the district. It may be of interest to give those services, with their dates, as well as his texts and subjects and a few comments. Where texts are not given here, the diary omits them. On Sunday morning January 11, 1891, he preached at Berlin. It is quite likely that this was the first English sermon at a regular Sunday morning service in this county. In the evening of that day he preached at Breslau. On Monday, January 12, he preached at Wanner's and the next evening at the Hagey church. The remainder of the week he was at Berlin. On Wednesday evening his text was Romans 10:17, "Faith, how it comes;" on Thursday evening he preached on John 3:5, "Born of water and of the Spirit—Regeneration;" on Friday he spoke from Luke 24:47, "Repentance;" and on Saturday he used Mark 10:32-33, "Acceptance of Christ." Of this meeting he says, "This evening a number made a start in the good work." Evidently these were his first converts. Probably he issued no invitation before this evening. The next morning, Sunday, January 18, he preached at Latschar's from the text in Galatians 2:20, "Crucifixion of the Old Man Adam." In the evening of that day he was again at Berlin on the text in Hebrews 9:15, "The Mediator of the New Testament." Of this meeting he says, "I never saw such a jam of people as were crowded into that house. Not near all in." This is not self-praise. He was not addicted to that failing. It is simple statement of fact, as his converts of that day, still living, confirm. The next evening he also spoke at Berlin. Text: Hebrews 9:1, "Baptism." On Tuesday morning, January 20, there was a morning meeting at Shantz's. In the evening he was back at Berlin, speaking again from Hebrews 9:1 on "Ordinances," this time "communion and foot-washing." The next four evenings, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday he was at Breslau speaking respectively from Luke 10:25, "The Good Samaritan;" Romans 5:1, "Justification;" Titus 2:11-12, "The Grace of God and its Effects;" John 4:4, "Christ's humiliation, the cost of the soul." On Sunday morning, January 25, he spoke at Wanner's from Matt. 9:16, 17; "The new life is not the

patching up of the old nature." In the afternoon he spoke at Breslau after the Sunday school on "Be not deceived." In the evening there also on Hebrews 9:2, 3, "The tabernacle and the priesthood." For the next two evenings he remained at Breslau preaching on Hebrews 9:3, 4, 5, "The ark of the old and the ark of the new covenant," and from Matthew, "The crucifixion scene, especially the distribution of Jesus' clothes. The lot is cast and some get the priestly robe."

The next five days he was at Berlin. On Wednesday evening, January 28, his text was Romans 7 and 8, 1 "Sanctification." The next day he held morning and evening services at the same place speaking in the morning from John 1:14 on "The Plan of Salvation" and in the evening from John 3:16. "Some came out to confess Christ," he says, a comment similar to many others on these meetings. But he mentions no numbers. On Friday morning he again spoke at Berlin from I John 1:15. Of this he says, "The discourse was listened to with rapt attention for one hour and forty minutes. I had to tell many severe truths, but they appeared to be taken without offense." This comment well illustrated his fearlessness in proclaiming his messages and the eagerness with which those discourses were received. That evening he was again at Cressman's speaking from Jeremiah 8:20, on "Harvest." On confession, "Many came out," he says. On Saturday, January 31, he went to Jordan. He remained in the Niagara Peninsula until the next Friday, February 6, holding meetings chiefly at the Moyer Church and at Campden. On that day he returned to Waterloo County and held an evening service at Blenheim, preaching from Luke 14:18 on "Excuses." He remained at Blenheim until the following Monday. On Saturday evening his text was Mark 10, 21, "The Good Young Man." On Sunday he preached twice, afternoon and evening, as follows: Galatians 4:29 "The two natures," and Romans 6 and Acts 1:5, "Baptism." The next day, Monday, February 9, he concluded his work at Blenheim with two services, a morning and an evening one, speaking in the morning from I John 5:1-5 on "Keeping the commandments," a doctrinal discourse, and in the evening from Joshua 24:15, "Choose." This meeting closed his revivals in Canada on his first trip, although he held a little gathering of his converts the next afternoon February 10, at the home of Isidore Snyder.

The following summary of his first trip, given in the diary for February 11, 1891, we quote almost entirely. "While in Canada, over 4 weeks, I preached 4 times, and held likely more than twice that many prayer services at private houses. This was one of the most interesting seasons of my life. May God rule and overrule all to His glory." On the day previous, speaking of his meeting at Isidore Snyder's, he says, "This was my last prayer with the dear people of Canada for this pleasant season of refreshing. Many of the older members are much encouraged by the meetings and considerably over 100 souls made a start in the new life. The converts are mostly of the neighborhood of Berlin, Breslau, and Blenheim." Thus closed his first meetings in Waterloo County. We have seen fit to give them in full detail, because their importance cannot be overemphasized. These revivals gave the church a new impetus. Most of his converts, at least at Berlin, were young married people of Mennonite parentage, who had made no decision on church affiliations. Only such a man as John S. Coffman could have won these people, who rapidly became church workers and leaders as indicated above. His powerful, fearless preaching and winning personality convicted and persuaded these people. That one hundred confessed in such a short time is evidence of the power and timeliness of his coming. Of his personality, one of his converts of that day says, "He had the faculty of shaking your hand and without saying a word making you feel his friendly concern for you." That is a splendid thing to be said of any man. No wonder he was such a powerful influence for good.

John S. Coffman held many more meetings in Ontario after this first series. Space forbids a complete account and we must give them only in outline, the data being taken from his private diary. On May 16, 1891, he came back again and stayed until the 20th preaching at Berlin, Breslau, Biehn's, Geiger's and Blenheim. But he had not come primarily for Waterloo county this time. On this trip he held his first protracted series of meetings in the Niagara district, staying there from May 21 to June 28. In 1892 we find him again in Ontario. He arrived at Berlin on February 6 and stayed in the county until March 6, preaching in that time in all at least 35 times at most of the meeting houses as follows: Berlin, Breslau, Snyder's, Hagey's, Puslinch, Wanner's, Cressman's, Detweiler's, Biehn's, Latschar's, Shantz's, and Conestoga. From

Waterloo County he went to Vineland, staying there from March 7 to 14. Thence he went to Markham where he stayed until March 22. On Wednesday, March 23, en route home from Markham he stopped at Berlin for a last meeting. His comments on this meeting are much worth quoting. "The church at Berlin was crowded and I had one of the most pleasant meetings of my life with all these apparently earnest Christians; text Rev. 2, 'Be thou faithful unto death.' We talked and shook hands after church for more than an hour. Had a most pleasant season of friendship and spiritual rejoicing. God bless the people in Canada." Nothing could more clearly show his deep earnestness, his true friendship, and the esteem in which he was held.

Later in 1892 he was again in Ontario. He arrived in Rainham on Thursday, August 25, and stayed in the Niagara district until Monday, September 19. On Tuesday he left for Markham where he stayed until October 2. On Monday, October 3, he left for Berlin where he preached that evening. The next morning he left for home. The next year, 1893, he was not in Ontario. In the spring of 1894 from May 23 to June 14 he was in the Niagara district. But in the fall of 1894, after an absence of two full years from Waterloo County, he came back again for a series of meetings at Blenheim, Hagey's and Waterloo.

On Tuesday, November 20, 1894, Coffman arrived unexpectedly in Berlin. One who was present at the morning service in the Christian Eby meetinghouse says that the congregation was astounded at seeing him come in. He himself says in his diary, "It was a great surprise to the people to see me here just now." He preached at that service and again the next morning at a special service that was called. "There was quite a curiosity to know what my business is here." His sermon that morning was from Psalms 139:14 on man in four aspects—physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual. Then he announced his purpose. He had come to plead the cause of a church school and to sell shares in the newly established "Elkhart Institute Association." It was not easy work for him. "This is business that is not very pleasant, but my heart is in it as I see the necessity of having the schoolhouse for the glory of God and the saving of our young people." This was the spirit of the man. Where duty led he went regardless of his personal convenience. But his task was not as unpleasant as he had feared it would be for he

speaks in succeeding pages of the "Cheerful givers" and the "profound respect" the brethren gave him. And he was well satisfied with results. "I consider that I did well to raise money for the school to the amount of $1206 and the promise of about 100 more." He also solicited later at Markham and Vineland, but mentions no amounts. This was the first school solicitation in Ontario. The church need not be ashamed of it. This was his last trip to Waterloo County. Nor did he again come until 1897 when he visited Vineland for a week from June 12 to June 18. As a conclusion on this man who was such a power for good in the Ontario church we may note his favorite text.[38] It was Galatians 2:20, "The crucifixion of the old nature and the life of the new man."

Since it may be of some interest to give the names of the converts in the first meeting held in 1891 we give them here as they are taken from a letter.[39] The first group were baptized on March 30, 1891, in the Christian Eby meetinghouse.

Jacob Snider and wife
John Gehman and wife
Levi Snider and wife
David Gimble and wife
Edward Doebel (Dippel) and wife
David Wismer and wife
Benjamin Moyer
Urias Shantz
Henry Feick
Norman Stauffer
Lovina Brubacher
Elizabeth Smith
John Steiner
Titus Snider
Jacob B. Stauffer
Maria Snider
Rachel Albert
Judith Albert
Sarah Ann Rudy
Samuel Brubacher
Cleason Shantz
William Shantz
Allen Cressman and wife

The second group were to be "baptized in the river with water, on Ascension Day."

Israel Shantz and wife
Simeon Brubacher and wife
Ephraim Cressman and wife
Menno Bechtel and wife
Henry Weber and wife
Daniel Rudy and wife
Amos Weber and wife
Osia Snider and wife
Ephraim Weber and wife
Jacob S. Betzner and wife
Ananias Shantz
Daniel Shantz
Henry Wahl
Isaiah Wismer
Oris Hembling
Elvina Shantz
Marietta Wahl
Esther Gehman
Jacob Snider
Aaron Betzner
Mrs. Abram Clemens

38. J. S. Coffman's manuscript diary for March 7, 1897, an Elkhart sermon.

39. Letter of Isidore Snyder to J. S. Coffman, dated April 12, 1891, in possession of S. F. Coffman.

Isidore B. Snyder
Hannah Woolner
Lizzie Gingerich
Mary Ann Gingerich
Carrie Cole
Lydia Schantz
Mary Snider
Emma Snider
Lizzie Snider
Titus Kolb
Mary Hoefling
Eli Hallman
David Betzner
Mrs. Theodore Weber
Lydia Reist
Caroline Cober
Eliab Betzner
Benjamin Betzner
Mabel Bristow
Benjamin Eby
Lydia Groff
Melinda Clemens
Mrs. Adam Doerr
Isaac Snider and wife

Of the above, the following were simply received into fellowship having been members either of the Mennonite or some other church:

Jacob Snider's wife
Osia Snider's wife
Allen Cressman's wife
Theodore Weber's wife
Adam Doerr's wife
Isaac Snyder and wife
Eli Hallman and wife

After J. S. Coffman, D. H. Bender served as the next evangelist. From a letter[40] we infer that he had just come from Canada where he spent a little over three weeks in evangelistic meetings, two at Breslau, one at Roseville, and four sermons at Berlin. Noah Stauffer had already spent two weeks at Berlin before he arrived, hence only a few sermons were preached there. Thus Noah Stauffer was really the next evangelist to follow J. S. Coffman. This was in January and early February, 1896. The next year came David Garber of Virginia. This man again visited the Ontario churches in the fall of 1932, thirty-five years after he had his meetings here. In 1898 came J. M. R. Weaver, also of Virginia. In 1899 Daniel Kauffman was the evangelist. Whether there were meetings in 1900 we are not sure. In 1901 E. S. Hallman held meetings and had 27 converts.

The new vitality given the church by all these revival meetings gave it great impetus in these years. From 1892 more church services were held. There was one preaching service each Sunday, German in the morning and English in the evening, alternately. Sunday school was held each Sunday afternoon. On June 17, 1897, Eli S. Hallman was ordained to the ministry and served the Berlin church until 1906 when he moved to Saskatchewan as one of the founders of the Guernsey settlement. He was a very active, zealous

40. Letter of D. H. Bender to J. S. Coffman from New Stark, Ohio, February 22, 1896, in possession of S. F. Coffman.

preacher then, as he still is, and held many revival meetings both in Canada and in the United States. Even before he was a minister he was active. He it was who organized the first Young People's Meeting in this congregation. The first of these meetings were held in private homes about 1892, according to a recent letter by him.[41] A few years later they were held in the church. In 1895 the first singing school was held at Berlin, "two young brethren from Ohio, Steiner and Hostetler" doing the teaching. E. S. Hallman himself held singing school in the years following.

At this point it seems fitting to mention the name of the faithful chorister of the Berlin congregation, Isidore B. Snyder. He was first made chorister in 1882 and continued in that good work until 1922, a period of 40 years. It is doubtful whether any other chorister in the church can show such a record of long service. For the first 30 years he was virtually alone in this work. After that he was helped by Jacob Snyder, M. B. Shantz, and Irvin Kolb. It was in the later 1890's also that teachers' Bible study classes were begun each week for the Sunday-school teachers. Somewhere about the years 1897 or 1898 E. S. Hallman held a winter's course of Bible study in the Berlin church. How long the course was is not clear. He seems to have continued it for a number of years. This was the forerunner of the Ontario Mennonite Bible School.

Bishop E. S. Hallman is able to furnish a list of the members of the Christian Eby church for 1898. We include it here. It is of some interest to note too, that the Eby name is retained for the church.

Eli Hallman's list of members of Christian Eby church, January 10, 1898:

Pre. S. S. Bowman and wife
Dillman Bowman and wife
Jonas Bowman and wife
William Bachert and wife
Mrs. Moses Betzner
Lizzie Betzner
Menno Bechtel and wife
Maranda Bechtel and wife
Mrs. Jonas Bingeman
Simeon Brubacher and wife
Christian Brubacher and wife
Christian Clemens and wife
Henry Cressman and wife
Cyrus Cressman and wife
Levi Cressman and wife
Magdalena Cressman
Susanna Cressman
Menno C. Cressman and wife
Mrs. Geo. H. Clemens
Mrs. Aaron Clemmer
Abraham Cressman and wife
Susanna C. Snyder
Samuel Cressman and wife
Lucinda Cressman

41. Letter of E. S. Hallman to J. B. Cressman dated June 20, 1932.

Moses Clemens and wife
Mrs. Abram Clemmer
John Dippel and wife
John Devitt and wife
John Detweiler (deacon)
Henry B. Eby and wife
Samuel Ernst and wife
Pre. Moses Erb and wife
David Eby and wife
Louis Ernst and wife
Henry Feick and wife
Silas Good and wife
Herman Hertel
Frank Hertel
Pre. Eli S. Hallman and wife
George Hiestand and wife
Mrs. John S. Hallman
Benj. Horst and wife
Jarius Hallman and wife
(went back to Blenheim)
Elias B. Kolb and wife
John Mass and wife
Adam Moyer and wife
Mrs. William Moyer
Geo. Moyer and wife
Frans Meyer and wife
Katie Martin
Mrs. Isaac Oberholtzer (widow)
Isaac Oberholtzer
Eli Shantz and wife
Mrs. Eli Shantz (widow)
Lena Shantz
Esther Shantz
John B. Schmidt
Moses Schmidt
Herman Schmidt
Adelina Schmidt
Lucinda Schmidt
Joseph Schmidt and wife
Joseph Snyder and wife
Jacob Snyder and wife
David Shuh and wife
Joseph Shuh
Lavina Shuh
Leah Shuh (widow)
Hannah Shuh
John C. Shantz and wife
Melinda Shantz
Anna Shantz
Mrs. Moses Snyder (widow)
Isidore B. Snyder and wife
Aaron B. Shantz and wife
Isaac Snyder and wife
Ibra Snyder
Maggie Snyder
Wendel E. Shantz and wife
Allan Shantz
Urias Shantz
Louida Shantz
Susie Shantz
Lydia Reist
Samuel Y. Shantz and wife
Susanna Shantz
Ananias Shantz and wife
Minnie Giltig
Lydia Weber
Cyrus Weber
Daniel Knechtel and wife
Emanuel Clemens
Ida Cressman
Lena Stauffer
Lavina Weber
Henry Shantz and wife
Alvina Shantz
Charlie Schaaf
Mrs. Richert (widow)
John Woolner and wife
Geo. Weber and wife
Henry Weber
Ada Weber
Mrs. Henry Weber
Mrs. Theodore Weber
Benjamin Shoemaker (deacon)
Anna Shoemaker
Mrs. Henry Otterbein (widow)
Mrs. Abram Weber (widow)
Bishop Daniel Wismer and wife
Ephraim Brubacher
Amos Weber and wife
Daniel Weber and wife
Josiah Weber
Ephraim Weber
George Weber
Alvina Weber
Abram H. Wambold and wife
Solomon Woolner and wife
Martin Weber and wife
Mary Weber (daughter of Martin)
Mary Weber
Jacob D. Shoemacker

Samuel Eby and wife
Leah Cressman
John Erb and wife
William Gehman
Henry Eby
Daniel Schneuker and wife
Jacob Knechtel and wife
Eddie Cressman
Samuel Snyder (son of Isaac)
Enos Doll and wife
Sarah Weber

195 names in all. There are also 17 names of the Bridgeport district which belong to the Christian Eby congregation.

Thus we bring this middle period to a close. It was a time of cautious progress up to 1890. During that time it was marred by a division, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ of 1874, and the Martin division of 1889. If one is inclined to censure the slow growth during these years, these two divisions, reflecting so absolutely conflicting view points, remind us with what the church leaders, who worked to keep the church intact, had to contend. Small wonder that they moved cautiously and slowly. But it is equally evident that the John S. Coffman revivals came most opportunely. Before these meetings there were few young people, even young married people, in the church. As a result of these meetings the church was truly revived and the new work we have just noted was launched. Thus was laid the foundation for the church of today. Truly, this middle period from 1859 to 1902 was one of beginnings.

III. The Modern Period, 1902—

With the building of the brick church in 1902 the modern period commences. This division is not arbitrary. As we have noted, virtually all of the present church organizations were begun in the middle period. By 1902 these had become firmly established and have come down to the present with merely the minor adaptations that time brings. Having characterized the first two periods as the "Eby Period" and the "Period of Beginnings" respectively, we shall now in a similar fashion term the last period the "Period of Organizations." We shall discuss it in three parts, namely, Church Activity, Sunday School and Young People's Organizations, and The Ontario Mennonite Bible School.

With the building of the brick structure the old name of "Christian Eby Church" was changed to the "Berlin Mennonite Church." By this time preaching services were held every Sunday, and probably had been some years previously. The morning service was usually in German and the evening one in English. Young people's

meetings seemed to alternate with the evening preaching services. Samuel S. Bowman, ordained in 1878, was the pastor of the church. He conducted the morning services in the German language. Eli S. Hallman, ordained in 1897, usually held the evening services in English. The latter was also active in Sunday school and young people's meetings. In fact he started the last named in the homes of the members in 1892. During these early years at the beginning of the century, Daniel S. Wismer and Jacob S. Woolner also shared in the preaching services. The former lived in Berlin. Ordained in 1860, he was senior in the ministry to Samuel Bowman, and would probably have been pastor had he not moved to Kansas in 1877, not returning until ten years later. When he moved to Kansas, Samuel S. Bowman was ordained. During the period from 1897 to 1906 Eli S. Hallman was the active assistant to the pastor. When the latter moved to Saskatchewan in 1906 it was necessary to ordain another minister. Consequently, in 1907, Urias K. Weber was ordained. He served the church until the division of 1924.

In this seventeen year period the use of the German language greatly declined. Samuel Bowman preached in that tongue at the morning services. The customary arrangement was for him to preach first in the German after which U. K. Weber spoke in English. When it became apparent later that more English was desired by the majority it was decided to have two English services monthly in the morning. Of course all evening services were in English from the outset of this period. From about 1914 or 1915 Samuel S. Bowman, owing to advancing years, became less active and U. K. Weber served as the pastor of the congregation. He was well liked by the membership, his straightforward earnestness making a particular appeal to the young people. In this time also, David Wismer, Moses Bowman, Sr., and Jacob S. Woolner, all resident in the city, frequently occupied the pulpit. Samuel S. Bowman lived until 1924. He died on November 24 of that year at the advanced age of 90 years, 4 months, and 9 days. He had been in the ministry almost 47 years. Up to the last few months of his life he had been in good health. When he was 90 years old he preached the morning sermon. The present writer recalls the occasion well. On that morning "Uncle Sam," as so many of the congregation liked to call him, was in fine health and spirits. His mind was clear and his voice firm. After the service he mingled with the members and enlivened conversa-

tion with his humour and ready wit. During his ministry he was exceptionally faithful in his visitation work. His preaching may be described as of the teaching rather than the evangelistic type. The membership deeply mourned his passing in the fall of 1924.

Let us now note the deacons who have served the congregation. For the sake of convenience we shall name them all from the beginning. Samuel Eby, who came to Canada in 1807, was the first. He died in 1844. Joseph E. Schneider was next. He joined the Mennonite Brethren in Christ movement in 1874, whereupon John Brubacher became deacon. This man died in 1875. In the spring of 1875 Jacob Z. Kolb had been ordained deacon for Breslau. On John Brubacher's death, probably later in the same year, he was asked to serve both congregations. In 1877, Breslau having called another man, Kolb served Berlin only, and did so until 1890. In that year Benjamin Shoemaker became senior deacon at Berlin and served until his death on October 18, 1918. On July 23, 1911, George A. Weber was ordained deacon. He has served the congregation faithfully in that capacity ever since, being alone in that office since the death of Benjamin Shoemaker.

Certain other changes in the assets and status of the congregation must be noted. Two additions to the real estate have been made in the modern period. In 1914 the city of Berlin deeded one acre to the church for cemetery purposes, for the legal one dollar. It was deeded to the trustees, who were at that time David Shuh, Eli Shantz, and Titus S. Shantz. On February 8, 1933, forty-two hundredths of an acre, formerly part of Isidore B. Snyder's lane immediately adjoining the eastern part of the old cemetery, was purchased at a special sale. The sum of $379.57 was paid. Possession was secured on June 15, 1934. The land was deeded to the trustees of that year, namely, D. B. Betzner, George E. Schmitt, and Milton Ernst. No additions have since been made to land holdings. Thus the total property today, church and cemetery, consists of $5\frac{3}{4}$ acres. The total cost in cash of this was $589.57. Almost two thirds of this total was paid for the last land purchase. Of course the earlier purchases were made under totally different economic conditions than prevail today. In those times a dollar had much greater purchasing power.

For the change in status of the congregation mentioned above, we turn now to the change in name. In 1917 the city of Berlin be-

came the city of Kitchener. This name change necessitated a similar change for the church. At a largely attended meeting of the membership, held on May 8, 1917, many new names were proposed. Finally David Betzner, Sr., suggested the name, the First Mennonite Church of Kitchener. The appropriateness of the name was so immediately apparent to the membership that they accepted it at once without debate. For after all this was not only the first Mennonite church in the county but the first of any denomination.

In 1924 occurred the third division in the history of the congregation. For some years prior to this time there had been differences of opinion between the conference authorities and a large part of the membership. Apparently these differences centered in the question of attire for the women, especially their headgear. But this was only the ostensible cause of friction. The real cause was the deeper one of church government. Those dissenting from the conference authority were opposed to this centralized type of power. What they desired instead was congregational rule. Matters came to a head on August 3, 1924, when the conference, through the local bishop, declared that the pastor, U. K. Weber, who had shared the views of the dissidents, was no longer considered to be a minister in the conference. Within a week one half of the congregation, together with the pastor, withdrew to form the Sterling Avenue Mennonite Church. There remained in the First Mennonite Church exactly 123 members. For the remainder of the summer and fall the pulpit was supplied by ministers from the surrounding congregations.

During this time a call was issued to Bishop C. F. Derstine, then of Eureka, Illinois, who was well known as an evangelist. He accepted the call and moved to Kitchener with his family in December, 1924. Since then he has been pastor of the congregation. Under his ministry the membership has again grown so that today, in 1939, there is a total of 375. Thus the membership has more than trebled since 1924. Although the natural drift toward the city has had something to do with this increase, there is no doubt that the energetic, resourceful, and inspiring leadership of the pastor has contributed largely to this result. To provide for the increasing needs both of the congregation and of the Bible School, a large annex was added to the church building in 1928. This was a joint undertaking of the local church and the conference. It supplies essential lecture

and dining-room space for the Bible school, and is used every Sunday by the congregation for church and Sunday school. Both organizations share the cost of maintenance.

ASSOCIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Chief among the associated organizations we list the Sunday school. One or two years before U. K. Weber was ordained to the ministry in 1907, the Sunday school, which had always been held on Sunday afternoons, was shifted to the forenoon. At that time preaching services commenced at ten o'clock, followed by Sunday school at eleven. With this change we may say that the Sunday school was at last accepted as a regular phase of the general activity of the church. It may be of interest to many to give the names of the superintendents. M. C. Cressman, who had been elected to that office in 1896, held the superintendency until the end of 1902. Enos Doll was then elected. He seems to have held office during 1903 and 1904. Following that M. C. Cressman was again elected, and served for eight more years, from 1905 to 1912 inclusive. His recollection is that he held office fifteen years, seven in the Christian Eby church and eight in the brick church. William Bachert succeeded him, holding the office in 1913 and 1914. Then came Edwin Shantz in 1915 and 1916. He is the father of Merle Shantz, who at present frequently assists in the preaching services at the First Mennonite Church. In 1917 Melvin Shuh served his first term as superintendent. He held office continuously until the division in August, 1924, when he joined the dissident organization. During 1923 and 1924 Eliab Betzner served as assistant superintendent. W. F. Schisler was elected to serve the remainder of the 1924 term, and then was re-elected for 1925. John Kehl was his assistant. In 1926, 1927, and 1928 Lincoln Shantz and John Kehl were respectively superintendent and assistant. In 1929 Titus Kolb was superintendent and Lincoln Shantz assistant. In 1930 Moses Bowman Jr. served a first term as superintendent with John Cressman as assistant. From 1931 to 1934, inclusive, Simon Baer had a four year term as superintendent. Lincoln Shantz was his assistant in all years except 1933 when John Kehl held that office. Then in 1936 Moses Bowman, Jr., commenced a three year term. For the first two years Lincoln Shantz was his assistant, but in 1938 Cecil Gingerich held that office. Now, in 1939, Cecil Gingerich is super-

intendent and John Kehl is assistant. Of active teachers in the Sunday school M. C. Cressman is the oldest. This year he is completing his forty-seventh year as a teacher in the Sunday school of this congregation. Today, the Sunday school is in a flourishing condition. Last year, 1938, there were 390 on the roll with an average attendance of 303. It is organized into six departments, namely, cradle roll, beginners, primary, junior, intermediate, and senior. There is a total of thirty-one teachers in all departments.

Another organization which deserves mention is the Ladies' Aid which has done a great deal of valuable work. This group was first organized on July 8, 1908. It was the second organization of this type in the conference, Waterloo preceding it by several months. Mrs. David Shuh was the first president, Sarah Weber the vice-president, and Mrs. M. C. Cressman the secretary-treasurer. These were the officers to the end of 1917. In 1918 Mrs. Cressman became the president and Mrs. M. B. Shantz the secretary-treasurer. The former has held that office to the present. The latter was secretary until 1924. Since then there have been a number of secretaries. In addition to the senior ladies' aid a group was organized for the younger women not later than the spring of 1916. This was called the Dorcas Circle. Today this is still an active circle with over sixty members.

Two more organizations remain to be discussed briefly, the Young People's Bible Meeting and the Young Men's Christian Fellowship. Until the coming of the present pastor the former had always been held two Sunday evenings each month, no preaching services being held on those evenings. Soon after the arrival of C. F. Derstine, probably early in 1929, this meeting was shifted to a weekday service. From that time it has always been held every Thursday evening, thus doubling the number of annual meetings and making possible a preaching service every Sunday evening. This was also the first young people's meeting in the conference to be held as a weekly service. The Young Men's Christian Fellowship meets once a month on the same evening as the Dorcas Circle so as to provide a meeting for the young men on that evening. This group was organized in 1935. It has proved to be a live organization, by no means confining its activities to the one monthly meeting. At various times it has brought in noted speakers. Together with the Dorcas

Circle the Young Men's Christian Fellowship has sponsored summer camps for the boys and girls of the church.

Of missionary activity it may be noted that Louida Bauman is a home missionary stationed at Toronto Mission. At this time of writing Una Cressman is under appointment as a missionary to the Argentine. She is a graduate nurse and becomes the first foreign missionary from this congregation. In 1938 Moses Bowman, Jr. was called to serve as the pastor of the Roseville church. He had been a Sunday-school superintendent in this congregation. Revival meetings have been held frequently. For the past few years it has been the policy of the pastor to hold three revivals annually for a period of eight days each. At many of these he has himself been the evangelist. Among the others who have helped in this work are: B. B. King, A. C. Good, J. D. Mininger, A. J. Metzler, Maurice O'Connell, and E. M. Yost.

One more activity that is missionary in its nature may be noted here, namely, the Summer Vacation Bible School. This was started on the initiative of the pastor in 1928. It was the first school of its kind in the conference. Furthermore it was the first of its kind in Kitchener. For seven or eight years it served the whole city as an interdenominational vacation Bible school. Throughout its history, however, the teaching staff has been entirely composed of Mennonites. It is a flourishing institution growing larger each summer. During the summer of 1938 the enrollment was 475 and the average attendance 375. Scholars were enrolled from almost every denomination in the city. Undoubtedly the school is rendering an appreciated service.

With this, we bring to a close our history of this congregation. One hundred and thirty years have elapsed since Benjamin Eby was ordained. In such a span of years it is inevitable that progress should not always have been constant. There have been honest differences of opinion followed by separations. One thing at least may be said of such occurrences; they show the presence of deep-seated convictions. Today we can say that the spirit of good will is uppermost. Perhaps the day is approaching when conviction and unity can march hand in hand. As for the present condition of the congregation, it is prospering under the leadership of the pastor, C. F. Derstine. A bishop and an evangelist, he is soundly evangelical in his

preaching. The membership is loyal and devoted. With this combination sound progress in the future should be possible.

The Ontario Mennonite Bible School

Although this is an undertaking sponsored by the whole Ontario Mennonite conference we include it in our history of this congregation because it was begun here and has always been held here. The first Bible study courses to be held in this congregation were conducted by E. S. Hallman in the late nineties and the early years of this century. This was not the actual beginning of the school, but we can say that it must have furnished much of the inspiration for that beginning. The school of today dates from January, 1907. That it was an undertaking of the whole conference from the outset we know by a specific resolution of the 1906 conference that authorized the project. The school was organized for the purpose of providing a means of studying the Bible in a systematic fashion. L. J. Burkholder says that the interest created by the Bible conferences of the period had much to do with the founding of the school. The first year's work was a four weeks' course from January 14 to February 8, 1907. S. F. Coffman and L. J. Burkholder were the instructors. The courses given were: The Life of Christ, Acts of the Apostles, The Mosaic Law, Bible Doctrines, and Sunday School Methods. For some unknown reason no school was conducted in 1908. In 1909 the school resumed with the same instructors in charge. That year S. F. Coffman taught two courses, Methods of Bible Study, and Church History. L. J. Burkholder gave two, namely, Doctrines of Salvation and Studies in Matthew. This was intended to be a four weeks' course also, but a small-pox epidemic closed the school at the end of the third week. Such were the beginnings of the school. The following year L. J. Burkholder dropped permanently from the staff. For the nine years from 1910 to 1918 inclusive, S. F. Coffman was the sole instructor, as well as the first and thus far the only principal of the school. Without his devoted work during that time the school would not have survived. In 1920 Oscar Burkholder was added to the staff. C. F. Derstine joined it in 1929, and Jesse B. Martin in 1931. These four men comprise the staff today. It should be mentioned in passing that J. D. Brunk taught music in 1916.

From its inception the school has enjoyed a steady expansion in time, curriculum, and attendance. In 1912 the time was extended from four to six weeks. It remained thus until 1928 with the exception of an eight weeks' course in 1917 and a seven weeks' course in 1927. For the one year of 1928 a ten weeks' course was adopted. In 1929 the twelve weeks' course of today was inaugurated. The curriculum has shown a similar growth. In 1912 a six year cycle of studies was adopted, it being a course designed to cover the entire Bible in six years on the basis of six weeks' work each winter. On the completion of this cycle of studies a student was entitled to the school diploma. No diplomas were granted, however, until 1928. The first graduates were: Ephraim Brubacker, Ezra Sauder, Ada L. Snyder, and Magdalena E. Coffman. The next year fourteen diplomas were granted. With the adoption of the twelve weeks' course it became possible to complete the cycle of studies in three winters. New subjects have been added to the curriculum from time to time. From 1923 to the end of 1938 English composition was taught. In 1939 it was discontinued in favor of a course in Christian Experience, because most of the students had by this time carried their secular education far enough not to require composition. Today, the school lists the following courses: Old Testament, New Testament, Epistles and Methods of Bible study, Doctrines, Biblical Introduction, Sunday School Normal, Christian Work, Church History, Missions, and Music. In 1932 a supplementary course of study was added for advanced students, ministers, and Christian workers. This is also run as a three year cycle and a diploma is granted. The courses listed are: Prophecy, Book Analysis, Christian Evidences, Homiletics, Public Speaking, General Church History, Practical Church Work, and Distinctive Church Doctrines.

The attendance has grown proportionately. Up to 1920 the attendance varied from 20 to 40. In 1926 there were 64 on the roll and 37 attended for six weeks. In 1927 attendance jumped to 102 and since then the roll has never dropped below 100. In 1936 it reached the 200 mark and for 1939 there were 224. Approximately half of these were in attendance for the entire twelve weeks.

Although the school was begun in the Berlin church and remained there until 1914, it was held elsewhere for a number of years following. In the winter of 1915 the school met in the former Wendell

Shantz home on King Street East, now an apartment house; the next year in a house on the north-east corner of Weber and Cedar Streets; in 1917 in the Glick Block on King Street East; in 1918 in the M. C. Cressman Block on King Street East. In 1919 it was again held in the Cressman Block. But in 1920 the school returned to the church building where it has remained ever since. In 1928 the erection of the commodious Bible School annex added greatly to the facilities.

The school is supported by the entire conference. All the congregations take turns in donating meats, fruits and vegetables. Because of these donations it is possible to board the students for the remarkably low sum of $1.55 per week of five days. Students lodge in homes in the city at an average rate of $1.00 per week. Tuition has always been seventy-five cents per week. The children of ministers and missionaries pay no tuition. Missionaries and ministers pay no fees of any sort, and are boarded free. The school is operated by a board of nine members all appointed by the Ontario Mennonite Conference. In recent years many students have come from various states in the United States. The school is serving the church splendidly as a means of instructing the youth. From present prospects it will continue to grow in the years to come.

ATTENDANCE AT MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

1938-1939

Silas Hertzler

This study of attendance in Mennonite schools and colleges summarizes the data for the school year 1938-39, including the summer of 1938. Sixteen schools responded to the request for information. Since the smaller schools have responded so irregularly, it was decided that after this year the study would include only regularly organized academies and colleges which carry on their work for a school year of at least eight months. The schools included in this report are:

Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
Hesston College and Bible School, Hesston, Kansas
Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota
Eastern Mennonite School, Harrisonburg, Virginia
German-English Academy, Rosthern, Saskatchewan
Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Gretna, Manitoba
Corn Bible School and Academy, Corn, Oklahoma
Herbert Bible School, Herbert, Saskatchewan
Tabor Bible School, Dalmeny, Saskatchewan
Dinuba Bible School, Dinuba, California
Ontario Mennonite Bible School, Kitchener, Ontario
Bible School of the Mennonite Brethren, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Bethesda Bible School, Henderson, Nebraska

In this group of Mennonite schools and colleges there are three four-year degree granting institutions and four well organized junior colleges. Two Canadian academies give one year of college work, in addition to the regular high school course. Four additional academies emphasize Bible training along with regular high school courses. The remaining three schools are in session for only a part of the school year—one of them for a period of six months, another for four months, and the third for three months.

Table I shows the total enrollment in the sixteen schools reporting. This is 131 less than last year, with four less institutions send-

ing in reports. Table II indicates the enrollment of the institutions having college students, while Table III shows enrollments of high school and Bible students who have not completed a high school course. College enrollment shows a total increase of sixteen students in eight schools. The high school enrollment has decreased 147 over last year, although this may be due entirely to lack of reports.

Tables IV and V show trends among Mennonite and non-Mennonite students. The decrease shown is chiefly in the non-Mennonite attendance. There are 37 less Mennonite students, but the non-Mennonite attendance has dropped 94. Tables VI and VII show the states, provinces, and countries from which all students come. Distribution by states is much as in previous years. Mennonite students come from 28 states, and the District of Columbia, from five provinces of Canada, and from Africa and India. Non-Mennonite students come from 22 states and from 5 Canadian provinces.

The number of Mennonite students of college grade has been increased from 904 to 937. There are 70 less Mennonite students of high school grade. Summer attendance shows an increase, chiefly at Bethel College. Women students now out-number the men by 214 which is a considerable increase over previous reports. Five different degrees were granted. This year's report shows no bachelor of school music graduates. Bachelor of theology graduates increased by fourteen. Table XII summarizes as in previous years by listing significant totals for all the eleven years during which the tabulations have been made.

Table I

Total Enrollment in Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1938-39

Schools	College	Academy or High School	Bible	Other Departments	Total Enrollment
Bethel College	458	...	...	37	495
Goshen College	404	...	84[1]	...	488
Eastern Mennonite School	44	141	75	43[2]	303
Hesston College	73	103	70	26[3]	271
Bluffton College	231	...	...	34	265
Ontario Men. Bible School	...	...	224[4]	...	224
Tabor College	144	75	...	...	219
Freeman Junior College	63	87	...	...	150
Corn Bible School and Academy	...	76	...	...	76
German-English Academy	18	42	15	...	75
Herbert Bible School	...	67	...	...	67
Bible School, Winnipeg	...	...	50[5]	...	50
Mennonite Collegiate Institute	12	36	...	...	48
Tabor Bible School	...	40	...	...	40
Dinuba Bible School	...	24	...	...	24
Bethesda Bible School	...	...	12[6]	...	12
Total	1447	690	530	140	2807

[1] Students for six weeks only.

[2] Bible correspondence students, E. M. S. Bulletin, Annual Catalog 1939-40, p. 100.

[3] Correspondence and extension students, Hesston College and Bible School Bulletin, May, 1939, p. 36.

[4] This school is open for twelve weeks annually.

[5] A six months' course, annually.

[6] Four months' course.

Table II

Enrollment by Classes, College Students, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1938-39

College	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Summer	Other Depts.	Total
Bethel	51	82	103	126	11	81	4[1]	458
Goshen	27	38	90	98	71[2]	73	7[3]	404
Bluffton	39	36	50	71	9	26	...	231
Tabor	...	...	58	67	19	...	...	144
Hesston	...	...	21	45	7	...	...	73
Freeman	...	...	8	52	3	...	...	63
E. M. S.	1	2	17	20	4	...	...	44
German-English	...	...	...	18	...	...	...	18
M. C. I.	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	12
	118	158	347	509	124	180	11	1447

[1] Postgraduate students.

[2] Part time students.

[3] Four graduate students; three correspondence students.

Table III

Enrollment by Classes, Students Not of College Grade, 1938-39

School	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Bible	Other Depts.	Total
E. M. S.	44	28	25	42	2	75[1]	43	259
Ontario	...	...	...	...	...	224	...	224
Hesston	25	27	25	25	...	70	26	198
Freeman	32	18	12	25	...	...	...	87
Goshen	...	...	...	...	...	84	...	84
Corn	8	29	20	19	...	...	...	76
Tabor	27	20	12	8	8	...	...	75
Herbert	6	4	19	38	...	...	...	67
German-English	...	24	14	4	...	15	...	57
Winnipeg	...	...	...	...	...	50	...	50
Dalmeny	...	7	11	22	...	...	...	40
Bethel	...	...	...	...	...	...	37[2]	37
M. C. I.	...	18	10	8	...	...	...	36
Bluffton	...	...	...	...	...	...	34[3]	34
Dinuba	...	...	9	15	...	...	...	24
Bethesda	...	...	...	...	...	12[4]	...	12
	142	175	157	206	10	530	140	1360

[1] Special Bible term students for six weeks.

[2] Non-credit music students, Bethel College Bulletin, July 21, 1939, p. 106.

[3] Fine arts students not of college grade.

[4] Three students were high school graduates.

Table IV

MENNONITE STUDENTS IN MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1938-39

Denomination	Goshen	E. M. S.	Bethel	Hesston	Ontario	Tabor	Freeman	Bluffton	Corn
"Old" Mennonites	333	299	5	215	210	..	..	2	..
General Conference	..	..	278	27	..	9	80	90	3
Mennonite Brethren	..	..	7	..	..	142	4	..	71
Krimmer Mennonite Brethren	..	..	1	..	..	20	18	..	..
Central Conference	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	..
Menn. Brethren in Christ	12	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..
Mennonite (Unclassified)	..	..	..	1	..	..	25	1	..
Evangelical Menn. Brethren	..	..	1	1	..	14	..	..	..
Amish Mennonites	..	2	..	..	13	..	..	..	..
Defenseless Mennonites	..	..	..	1	..	..	4	4	..
Sommerfelder	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kleinegemeinde	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rudnerweide	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	363	301	292	245	223	185	135	110	74

Table IV—Continued

Denomination	Ger. Eng.	Winnipeg	Herbert	M. C. I.	Dalmeny	Dinuba	Bethesda	Total
"Old" Mennonites	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1066
General Conference	64	..	4	18	4	..	12	589
Mennonite Brethren	7	50	41	17	18	24	..	381
Krimmer Menn. Brethren	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	39
Central Conference	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	31
Menn. Brethren in Christ	..	..	..	..	18	..	..	34
Mennonite (Unclassified)	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	29
Evangelical Menn. Brethren	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Amish Mennonites	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
Defenseless Mennonites	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Sommerfelder	..	..	1	5	..	..	..	6
Kleinegemeinde	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
Rudnerweide	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
Total	71	50	48	48	40	24	12	2221

Table V

Non-Mennonite Students in Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1938-39

Denomination	Bethel	Bluffton	Goshen	Tabor	Hesston	Herbert	Freeman	German English	E. M. S.	Corn	Ontario	Total
Methodist Episcopal	58	31	23	2	9	..	1	..	1	..	..	125
Non Church Members	5	7	12	18	3	19	..	..	..	..	..	64
Presbyterian	26	22	12	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	62
Lutheran	7	11	8	..	..	..	7	1	..	..	..	34
Evangelical	5	8	11	1	8	..	1	..	..	..	..	34
Brethren	1	..	32	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	33
Baptist	8	5	4	9	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	30
Reformed	2	20	3	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	26
Christian	14	4	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	23
United Brethren	4	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	22
Roman Catholic	6	9	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	17
Congregational	8	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	14
Church of Christ	2	6	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Church of God	2	4	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	9
Episcopalian	5	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Nazarene	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Statistics not given	37	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	42
Christian Science	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Colored M. E.	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Brethren in Christ	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Federated	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Friends	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Methodist Protestant	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Missionary	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Assembly of God	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Bahai	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Community	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Disciples of Christ	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Greek Catholic	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Russellite	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Seventh Day Adventists	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Unitarian	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Union	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
United Church of Canada	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Total	203	155	125	34	26	19	15	4	2	2	1	586

Table VI

STATES, PROVINCES AND COUNTRIES FROM WHICH MENNONITE STUDENTS COME, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1938-39

States	Goshen	E. M. S.	Bethel	Hesston	Ontario	Tabor	Freeman	Bluffton	Corn	German English	Winnipeg	Herbert	M. C. I.	Dalmeny	Dinuba	Bethesda	Total
Kansas	7	15	233	129	34	104		67		1	50	1	48		24	12	473
Ohio	80	125	1	5	3			15						40			197
Pennsylvania	35				7	1				65		45					183
Saskatchewan		3	3	4	2			8									160
Indiana	134		1		148	1	132		74								154
Ontario	5		13			37		15			1		48			12	154
South Dakota			8	3		6		2							24		146
Oklahoma	1	112	6							5		2					122
Virginia		1				1		1									113
Manitoba	49	1	9	14	1	23	2	15		1						12	102
Illinois			1	24	1	6		2									68
Nebraska	24	1	1	24		37											60
Iowa		1	6					1									53
California	8	2		23		1											37
Michigan	2	5		23		1											34
Oregon	5		2	19													30
Colorado	1	19		5		6	1										27
Maryland	1		1	5		2				5		2					20
North Dakota			4	5		1		1									13
Alberta			4	5		1											11
Minnesota	3	1	1	5													10
Missouri	2		5	2													9
Idaho	2	2			5												9
New York	2	7															7
West Virginia		1		1		1		1									4
Montana		3		2													3
Delaware	1																3
Texas		2															2
Africa	1																2
Kentucky			1														1
Washington	1																1
India																	1
New Jersey	1																1
Tennessee		1															1
District of Columbia		1															1
British Columbia						1											1
Total	363	301	292	245	223	185	135	110	74	71	50	48	48	40	24	12	2221

Table VII

STATES, PROVINCES, AND COUNTRIES FROM WHICH NON-MENNONITE STUDENTS COME, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1938-39

States	Bethel	Bluffton	Goshen	Tabor	Hesston	Herbert	Freeman	German English	E. M. S.	Corn	Ontario	Total
Kansas	158	..	..	22	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	199
Ohio	..	140	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	143
Indiana	1	..	110	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	111
Statistics not given	37	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37
Saskatchewan	..	..	..	1	..	17	..	3	..	..	..	21
South Dakota	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	15
Oklahoma	4	..	..	4	3	..	..	..	..	2	..	13
Pennsylvania	..	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Colorado	..	..	2	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Illinois	..	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Michigan	..	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
New York	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
North Dakota	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
British Columbia	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
Virginia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
Alabama	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Alberta	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Arizona	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Arkansas	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Kentucky	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Louisiana	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Manitoba	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Minnesota	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Nebraska	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Ontario	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Oregon	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Texas	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
West Virginia	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	203	155	125	34	26	19	15	4	2	2	1	586

Table VIII

MENNONITE STUDENTS OF COLLEGE GRADE, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1938-39

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	135	145	280
Bethel	130	114	269[1]
Tabor	53	63	116
Bluffton	42	39	96[2]
Hesston	30	39	69
Freeman	24	28	52
E. M. S.	28	15	43
M. C. I.	6	6	12
Total	448	449	937

1. Twenty-five summer students for whom detailed statistics were not given.
2. Fifteen summer students not included in the detailed tabulation.

Table IX

MENNONITE STUDENTS NOT OF COLLEGE GRADE, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1938-39

School	Men	Women	Total
E. M. S.	97	161	258
Ontario	99	124	223
Hesston	86	90	176
Freeman	45	38	83
Goshen	39	44	83
Corn	31	43	74
German-English	..	..	71[1]
Tabor	25	44	69
Winnipeg	14	36	50
Herbert	19	29	48
Dalmeny	17	23	40
M. C. I.	22	14	36
Dinuba	13	11	24
Bethel	7	16	23
Bluffton	4	10	14
Bethesda	..	..	12[2]
Total	518	683	1284

[1] Detailed statistics not given. Some of these students doubtless are of college grade.

[2] No details given.

Table X

SUMMER SESSION, 1938, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

School	Men	Women	Total
Bethel	38	89	127
Goshen	44	56	100
Bluffton	12	37	49
Total	94	182	276[1]

[1] This total represents all summer students, including duplicates with the regular school year.

Table XI

TOTAL ATTENDANCE, MEN AND WOMEN, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1938-39

School	Men	Women	Total
Bethel	237	258	495
Goshen	238	250	488
E. M. S.	127	176	303
Hesston	124	147	271
Bluffton	123	142	265
Ontario	99	125	224
Tabor	97	122	219
Freeman	71	79	150
Corn	33	43	76
German-English	..	..	75[1]
Herbert	32	35	67
Winnipeg	14	36	50
M. C. I.	28	20	48
Dalmeny	17	23	40
Dinuba	13	11	24
Bethesda	..	..	12[1]
Total	1253	1467	2807

[1] Detailed statistics not given.

Table XII

Comparative Attendance, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1928-39

Year	Mennonite	Non-Mennonite	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.	Total
1928-29	1025	513	847	569	...	122	1538
1929-30	1259	708	1085	609	...	273	1967
1930-31	1515	665	1234	710	110	126	2180
1931-32	1337	591	944	522	259	203	1928
1932-33	1135	538	906	416	277	74	1673
1933-34	1259	476	921	348	402	64	1735
1934-35	1742	530	1025	550	502	195	2272
1935-36	2274	574	1151	1050	470	177	2848
1936-37	2640	496	1242	948	800	146	3136
1937-38	2258	680	1431	821	542	144	2938
1938-39	2221	586	1447	690	530	140	2807

Table XIII

Diplomas Given and Degrees Granted, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1938-39

	Goshen	Bethel	Bluffton	Tabor	E. M. S.	Freeman	Hesston	Corn	M. C. I.	Dinuba	Dalmeny	Herbert	German-English	Total
B. A.	26	29	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	85
B. S. in Education	24	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	32
Th. B.	9	..	..	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
B. S. in Home Economics	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
B. S. in Industrial Arts	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Two Year Normal	44	..	..	20	2	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	70
Junior College	..	..	..	11	11	7	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	34
Advanced Bible	..	..	..	2	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
One Year Normal	..	..	..	..	..	32	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	32
Academy	..	..	..	26	37	21	38	11	17[2]	..	..	6	..	156
Bible Academy (3 yrs.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	..	..	6	..	2	24
Elem. Bible (2 yrs.)	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	16
Christian Workers	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Bible Academy (2 yrs.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Commercial Course	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	104[1]	38	38	65	64	64	48	27	17	7	6	6	2	486

[1] In addition, eight certificates were given for the completion of a brief Bible school course; ten certificates for the completion of a Sunday school teacher training course.

[2] A three year course.

BOOK REVIEWS

Two Hundred Years. By WALTER E. BAUM. Published by The Sellersville Herald, Sellersville, Pa. 1938. $1.10.

Walter E. Baum is the editor of *The Sellersville Herald,* the local newspaper of a North Penn town in southeastern Pennsylvania. He is also a gifted landscape artist. And in the 170-page book, *Two Hundred Years,* he demonstrates still another facet of his unusual personality.

The book is an effort to recreate the life and interests of the forefathers who lived and died in western Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in past generations. Mr. Baum wanted to present the old pioneer "as he plodded along in the even tenor of his way," and he has certainly succeeded admirably in interpreting the mind of the typical Pennsylvania German.

A dozen well-written chapters and more than twice that number of pictures combine to give one who was reared in the Sellersville community a longing to live there again as in the simple days of the past. For although the book does not pretend to contain much original research in local history the author has written every line as one who knows thoroughly the community in which he has always lived and which he still loves fervently. Mr. Baum writes of the Mennonites, the Lutherans, the Reformed and the Catholics with full tolerance and with an intelligent appreciation of their respective contributions to the community. Most of the Mennonites of the Sellersville community adhere to the Franconia Conference of the (Old) Mennonite Church, and the remainder belong to the Eastern District Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America.

One of the most interesting chapters is the one entitled, "Seen Through Young Eyes," in which the artist records the vivid impressions of a childhood spent in Sellersville a generation ago. He gives us more than mere historical data; he recreates the spirit and the interests of that period, telling of the philosophy of the men who used to sit in the village store, and of the homely virtues which characterized them. The final chapter, "Drauss Un Deheem," tells of the rapid modernization of the town, and of the loss of the Pennsylvania German dialect together with all that it stood for. The rich and beautiful side of the dialect is illustrated by the following version of Bryant's Thanatopsis (p. 153), written by a native son, Charles Calvin Ziegler:

Leb' du so
Dass, waan du g'summonst warscht zu selre Zahl
'As gehne nooch 'm schtille Schaateland—
'Njeder in sei Haus im Dodtereich —
Du geh net brauchst wie owets geht der Kschlaav
Gedriwwe mit de Geeschel noch seim Karker —
Net so: awwer, gedrooscht un gutes Muth
Un mit 'me u'bewegliche verdraue,
Dass d'geh kannscht nooch deim Graabe a's wie in's bett,
Ruhig ze schlofe im 'me sheene Draam.

The human interest manifested in *Two Hundred Years,* and the warm love of the author for his Pennsylvania German environs, coupled

with commendable honesty and humility, make the book a splendid addition to the libraries of all those interested in the cultural minorities of America.

Goshen, Indiana. John C. Wenger.

The Missionary Movement Among Lancaster Conference Mennonites. By Ira D. Landis. Prepared under the Direction of The Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities. Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1937. $0.25.

When the late Martin G. Weaver wrote his *Mennonites of Lancaster Conference* almost a decade ago, he devoted almost all of his attention to congregational histories and to brief biographical sketches of the ordained bishops, ministers, and deacons who have served the Mennonites of eastern Pennsylvania. Ira D. Landis, a minister in the Lancaster Mennonite Conference, now appears with a detailed and well-written history of the village, city, and rural missions as well as the charitable institutions sponsored by the Lancaster Mennonite Conference.

Mr. Landis seems to have a capacity for detailed compilations and thorough research. He has done a good job of collecting much information and preventing its going the way of many records of the Mennonites of past generations. In this book of one hundred nineteen pages is found the story of Christian mission work in forty localities, many of which developed into permanent Sunday schools or mission stations. The book is also made attractive by the use of numerous illustrations, a splendid map, a graph, and tables of various kinds.

A few small changes would have added to the value of the book. Under the name of each mission station it would have been helpful to give the township and county, even though the author does usually locate the missions accurately. The last word on page seventeen should be "ago," not "prior." The author might well have dated the rise of the Swiss Brethren movement (p. 7). Although the half-pagan Constantine did allow himself to be baptized on his deathbed, yet it was not until February 28, 380, that Christianity was made the official religion of the Roman Empire. Hence it is not strictly correct to speak of the "union of Church and State" in the days of Constantine (p. 7). And with "New" Mennonites meaning General Conference Mennonites in the Franconia district, Mennonite Brethren in Christ in Ontario, and Reformed Mennonites in Lancaster county, the term as used in this book should have been more exactly defined (p. 105). The author makes a splendid suggestion when he urges that Mennonites should establish institutions for the care of mental defectives, although the expression, "Comfort the feeble-minded," refers to those who are discouraged, and the "fainthearted" are not those of weak mentality (p. 111).

But the author has put a lot of painstaking effort into this booklet and has given us an indispensable companion volume to M. G. Weaver's general Lancaster Conference history. The author displays a breadth of interest as well as a keen enthusiasm for the missionary program of the Church, and has placed us all in his debt through this production.

Goshen, Indiana. John C. Wenger.

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